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No. 2048



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No. 2048

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COMMENTARY SEES PURGE UNDERWAY IN CUBA

Quito EL COMERCIO in Spanish 22 Aug 79 pp 4, 5

[Commentary by Gerardo Gallegos: "What Is Happening in Cuba?"]

[Text] The stern admonition of Fidel Castro to the police and judicial repressive apparatus to punish without "compassion" the transgressors against "socialist legality" did not take long to be felt. Hundreds of officials, at various levels of the state enterprises and the administrative organizations, have been arrested for the appropriate investigation. In a subsequent speech, Castro denounced the lack of "spontaneous revolutionary awareness" of those in charge of the revolutionary process. Coercive measures are becoming necessary, he said in closing. Stated in more explicit terms, a communist "purge" is underway in Cuba.

Huber Matos and Gutierrez Menoyo, former commanders of the rebel army in Sierra Maestra, are the most renowned "balky" anticommunist prisoners because of the fact that they were aides of Fidel Castro. But they are not the only ones. Together with them, there are well-known officers, noncommissioned officers and civilians sentenced to 20 years in jail for the same reason. Until now, they had been serving their terms in the "Combinado del Este" jail of Havana. They were recently transferred en masse to the Boniato penitentiary in Oriente. It is an isolated maximum security prison on top of a hill. Word has leaked out of Cuba to the news media in Miami that a Soviet military force of 6,000 men has arrived in Havana and that they are being quartered in buildings specially prepared for that purpose. Sen Richard Stone addressing President Carter reminded him that this violated the Soviet-American agreement concerning Cuba at the time of the missile crisis in 1962. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance unsuccessfully tried to appease the senator with the argument that there is no evidence of any "substantial" increase of Soviet forces on the island.

The facts are confusing when viewed separately. Related to each other, they indicate that the government of communist Cuba is facing a serious internal crisis. Among the motives for conflict between the people and their regime, the one that most deeply shocks the Cuban soul is the cruel sacrifice of

Cuban youths, falling on African soil without knowing why they have to kill and why they have to die. Extreme poverty, rationing of basic commodities and unsanitary housing are ills that can be endured willingly or unwillingly for the sake of a revolutionary communist system and especially for a better future, even though that hope be nothing more than an illusion. Rebelliousness swells from feeling to awareness, and from awareness to action not when worldly goods but when life itself is at stake without some patriotic or idealistic motive to justify it. The Cuban youths rebel because they do not want to be taken to remote countries to act as shock troops in a war for which they have no feeling and which they do not want.

The reinforcement of a combat brigade of 6,000 men arriving in Havana from the Soviet Union does not imply a threat to the United States. It is intended to squash a possible rebellion of the Cuban armed forces against the government of Fidel Castro. The confinement of political and military prisoners of acknowledged prestige in a maximum security penitentiary eliminates the danger that they could assume command of an armed insurrection at a given time. The unexpected "cleanup" of suspect personnel in the various state departments and the army is tantamount to an actual reorganization of communist cadres with personnel of unquestionable loyalty.

Fidel Castro, at the service of the Soviet Empire, is facing the crumbling of his "socialist revolution," which he termed "irreversible" not long ago.

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INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

ARGENTINA-BRAZIL MEET --Buenos Aires, 10 Sep (NA)--The tenth meeting of the special Brazilian-Argentine Coordination Commission began in Buenos Aires today. The Argentine Secretary of Commerce and International Economic Negotiations opened the meeting stating that he believes that trade between the two countries will reach \$1.5 billion this year. [Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1644 GMT 10 Sep 79 PY]

PARAGUAY-ARGENTINA SIGN-- Buenos Aires, 11 Sep (NA)-Delfin Ugarte Centurion, Paraguayan minister of industry and commerce, and Jose Alfredo Martinez de Hoz, Argentine economy minister, signed economic and physical integration agreements at the end of the Argentine-Paraguayan Mixed Commission meeting yesterday. The agreement includes the Argentine concession of a free port in Rosario, the shipment of 10,000 tons of Argentine wheat for Paraguay and a system to facilitate trade between the two countries. [Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1141 GMT 11 Sep 79 PY]

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MEETINGS, EVENTS RELATED TO IHRC VISIT REPORTED

Police Arrests

Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1542 GMT 7 Sep 79 PY

[Text] Buenos Aires, 7 Sep (NA)--It was officially reported that the police forces arrested two people who had gone to an embassy yesterday in order to deliver a letter from the commission of relatives of persons arrested or missing for political reasons in which officials of that embassy were asked to attend the gathering which will take place next Monday in front of Government House.

The federal police reported that those arrested are Raul Alberto Nejankis and Marisa Adriana Graham. Both of them are law students and insurance policy salesmen.

The text of the police communique follows: "At the request of an embassy the police proceeded to arrest, for identification, two people who on 6 September at 1800 went to the embassy to deliver a letter written on stationery of the commission of relatives of persons arrested and missing for political reasons."

The text of the letter is the following: "Buenos Aires, September 1979: The relatives of persons arrested and missing for political reasons invite you to join us on 10 September 1979 at 1700 at Government House, 50 Balcarce St, Federal Capital, on the occasion in which we will hand in our request for the full implementation of human rights. Hoping to count with your attendance, we remain yours sincerely. Signed on behalf of the relatives and of those arrested for political reasons.

"The arrested persons had similar letters which were going to be delivered to other embassies accredited in our country."

Political Leaders Present Documents

Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1400 GMT 8 Sep 79 PY

[Text] Buenos Aires, 8 Sep (NA)—It has been learned that leaders of various political parties have decided that each group will independently present documents to the Inter-American Human Rights Commission (IHRC) of the Organization of American States (OAS). The decision was adopted during a meeting attended yesterday by Deolindo Bittel, Vicente Saadi, Miguel Unamuno and Carlos Tuzzo, who represented the Justicialist Party; Simon Lazara and Victor Garcia Costas for the Socialist Party; Raul Rabanque Caballero for the Intransigent Party; Julio Amadeo for the Conservative Popular Party; and Fernando Nadra and Roberto Ballarino for the Communist Party. It was pointed out that the politicians exchanged information about their respective positions on the IHRC visit to the country.

Facts on Missing Person

Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1900 GMT 6 Sep 79 PY

[Text] Buenos Aires, 6 Sep (TELAM)—The Argentine Federal Police issued at noon today a communique explaining some facts about the alleged disappearance of an individual.

The communique reads as follows:

"In reference to the ill-intended misrepresentation by Miss Mairead Corrigan, holder of a Nobel Peace Prize, who reported the disappearance of Raul Aramendi—a member of the committee that welcomed Miss Corrigan upon her arrival last week, the federal police inform the public that Aramendi was arrested on 30 August by virtue of an arrest warrant issued by competent authorities because of his participation in subversive activities. Aramendi was turned over to authorities of the Misiones Province.

"The inclusion of an individual with Aramendi's record in the welcoming committee for a Nobel Prize holder is to be deplored."

Human Rights Group Meeting

Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1614 GMT 8 Sep 79 PY

[Text] Buenos Aires, 8 Sep (NA)—The members of the Inter-American Human Rights Commission (IHRC) held separate meetings this morning with former President Lt Gen Alejandro Agustin Lanusse (Ret) and with Ricardo Balbin, head of the National Committee of the Radical Civic Union. The meeting with Lanusse began at 1135 at his private residence in the Palermo neighborhood, and reporters were allowed to enter the house at approximately

1300 under the presumption that the meeting had ended. The meeting with Balbin took place somewhere in the capital, although the political leader was scheduled to visit the IHRC headquarters at 760 Avenida de Mayo in the morning.

Balbin, Alende Miss Meeting

Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1410 GMT 8 Sep 79 PY

[Text] Buenos Aires, 8 Sep (NA)--Political leaders Ricardo Balbin and Oscar Alende did not attend the separate meetings they were scheduled to hold this morning with members of the Inter-American Human Rights Commission (IHRC) at the commission's headquarters at 760 Mayo Avenue.

Reliable sources have reported, however, that the radical leader may have met with the IHRC members somewhere else.

Although Alende could not attend the meeting because he is suffering from the "flu," Rafael Marino, Rodolfo Rabanaque Caballero and Miguel Monserrat met with IHRC members on behalf of the Intransigent Party.

Bar Association To Meet With IHRC

Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1134 GMT 6 Sep 79 PY

[Text] Mar del Plata, 6 Sep (NA)--Reneiro Bernal, president of the Argentine Bar Association, revealed here that the association will receive members of the Inter-American Human Rights Commission next Tuesday in its headquarters in the federal capital.

Bernal said: "The association has a commission for the defense of lawyers' human rights which has documents concerning arrested and missing lawyers that will probably be given to the visitors."

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ARGENTINA

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON IHRC VISIT

Petition to Supreme Court

Paris AFP in Spanish 2024 GMT 13 Sep 79 PY

[Excerpt] Buenos Aires, 13 Sep (AFP)--In a petition submitted to the Argentine Supreme Court today, relatives of 752 persons whose kidnaping and disappearance were announced here said that not a single request for habeas corpus "has ever rescued one single human being."

The petition is the responsibility of the wife of Oscar Smith, leader of the electrical workers union, kidnaped here more than 2 years ago, supported by political leaders Vicente Saadi (Peronist), Raul Alfonsin (Radical Civic Union) and Catholic Bishop Jaime de Nevares.

They indicated that the legislation promulgated yesterday by the Argentine military government (by which persons who have been missing for more than 90 days can be declared dead) does not aid even "in the most basic form of investigation" of these cases.

The document states that "It is extremely alarming that 11 new cases of kidnapings and missing persons occurred from 3 August to 3 September 1979."

Regarding the law by which missing persons can be declared dead, the document states that it implies "the elimination of thousands of cases from the constitutional right of habeas corpus."

They charged that "a complete list containing the names of 5,581 missing persons intended for distribution was seized by order of the government from the shop where it was being printed."

Missing Living Abroad

Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1620 GMT 17 Sep 79 PY

[Text] Buenos Aires, 17 Sep (NA)--It has been learned from court sources that Federal Judge Martin Anzoategui has received reports on the studies

carried out by specialized organizations on the documents which were confiscated at the Argentine League of the Rights of Man and at the Human Rights Permanent Assembly.

According to these same sources, the studies disclose that 400 persons who are listed as missing on the list of the Human Rights Permanent Assembly are at present living abroad and that they left the country of their own free will or because they decided to choose the option granted to them by the law.

The same sources add that another 50 persons who are also listed as missing are being detained.

Meeting with Campora

Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 2135 GMT 17 Sep 79

[Excerpts] Buenos Aires, 17 Sep (NA)—Members of the Inter-American Human Rights Commission (IHRG) tonight met for 40 minutes with former President Hector J. Campora at the Mexican Embassy in this capital.

IHRG head Andres Aguilar and members Marco Gerardo Monroy Cabra and Carlos Dunshee de Abranches participated in the meeting, which lasted from 2010 to 2050.

The source who provided the information said that Ambassador Lara led the visitors to the area which Campora, his son and Juan Manuel Abal Medica occupy and left them alone.

Journalists later met with Aguilar and his companions at the Plaza Hotel, where they were taken by the ambassador. In a brief statement they confirmed the meeting with Campora and noted that the negotiations to obtain a safe-conduct for the former president to leave the country was included, although not directly, in the agenda of the IHRG for its visit to Argentina.

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ARGENTINA

BRIEFS

UNION BOARD MEMBERS—Buenos Aires, 19 Sep (NA)—It was revealed in labor union circles that the newly formed United Leadership of Argentine Workers (CUTA) decided to increase the number of its board members from 14 to 16. This was revealed at the same time the new union received official recognition from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions [Confederacion Internacional de Organizaciones Sindicales Libres—CIOSL]. The decision to increase the number of members of the CUTA's "small board" was taken as an alternative to overcome the insoluble problem of the former National Labor Commission (CNT) in appointing its eight representatives to the organization's executive board. [Excerpt] [Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1559 GMT 19 Sep 79 PY]

SALVADORAN FOREIGN MINISTER ARRIVED—Buenos Aires, 14 Sep (NA)—Salvadoran Foreign Minister Hector Rodriguez Porth arrived in Ezeiza airport this afternoon. Rodriguez Porth, who is here on an unofficial visit, met with his Argentine counterpart at San Martin Palace. According to reliable sources he is visiting several countries of the continent seeking support for his country. [Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 0115 GMT 15 Sep 79 PY]

FRENCH SENATORS END VISIT—A group of seven French senators ended their information-gathering visit, which started on 8 September, yesterday. The delegation headed by Adolphe Chauvin included Jacques Braconnier, Jean Mezard, Robert Schwint, Josy Moinet and Charles Lederman. During their stay in Argentina the French senators met with Interior Minister Albano Harguindeguy, Justice Minister Alberto Rodriguez Varela, Economy Minister Jose Alfredo Martinez de Hoz and representatives of the main political parties and humanitarian organizations. [Buenos Aires CLARIN in Spanish 16 Sep 79 p 13 PY]

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PINOCHET SEEN REACTING TO NEW 'DEMOCRATIC OFFENSIVE'

Santiago QUE PASA in Spanish 16-22 Aug 79 pp 6-8

[Article by M. Angelica Bulnes]

[Text] New political emphasis of Andean Pact.

The president's questions.

The inauguration of the new president of Ecuador, Jaime Roldos, was a propitious occasion for the countries of Latin America, particularly those of the Andean Pact, who are in a democratic situation, to sing the praises of democracy, although many of them are relatively new in the business.

The presidents of Costa Rica, Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela, as well as, unexpectedly, the head of the Spanish Government, Adolfo Suarez, signed a document indicating that the democratic process being evolved on our continent "constitutes a clear demonstration that only those institutions which are authentically representative are an adequate instrument to guarantee the exercise of freedom and the validity of human rights and to contribute to the satisfaction of the real needs of the people." Further on, they reiterate their intention to continue to encourage efforts to achieve the complete democratization of Latin America.

The foreign ministers of Bolivia and Peru also expressed their solidarity with this document. It must not be forgotten that Bolivia has been trying, lately, to enter upon a democratic system after 15 years of a de facto regime, but the popular vote did not give a clear definition of the winning candidate, and therefore they had to elect Walter Guevara, head of the Bolivian Congress, as provisional president through an agreement which is contrary to universal suffrage, thus broadening a political conflict which is difficult to solve. Peru, in turn, in spite of having announced a democratic government by 1980, after many years of a military regime, also has an extremely agitated domestic political situation in which economic problems and strikes predominate, encouraged by a very strong Marxist left. And in Ecuador itself, Roldos was only confirmed many months after the first popular election, following debate in the electoral tribunal and after his party's other candidate, Assad Bucaram, was disqualified.

However, the democratic exaltation encouraged by the Andean Group in Ecuador, where no doubt, among other things, they were sending Chile a message, could not erase the atmosphere of real concern manifested by the United States, through its secretary of state, Cyrus Vance, over the present situation in Nicaragua and the future of Central America and the Caribbean in general. This was confirmed by our foreign minister, Hernan Cubillos, on his return to Chile, when he pointed out that what happened in Nicaragua and the future of that area was the principal theme discussed during the interview with Vance. Contrary to what might have been expected, the U.S. secretary of state referred only briefly and toward the very end to the problem of extradition in the Letelier case, limiting himself to inquiring when the decision would be known.

The former president of Chile, Eduardo Frei, was also invited, along with a group of persons belonging to the former Christian Democratic Party. Frei and Cubillos traveled in the same plane to Guayaquil, where, while the foreign minister was received by an official delegation, Frei was welcomed by a group of Christian Democrats headed by Chilean Felipe Amunategui, who resides in Ecuador. Once in Quito, Frei declared that the Ecuadorean situation must serve as an example, adding with these words to the many democratic recommendations which were made during the visit.

Opposition Studies Transition

In Santiago, the Group for Constitutional Studies, called "The 24," celebrated its first anniversary by holding a plenary session in which its president, Manuel Sanhueza, stated that since the constitutional report was already finished, a new stage was being entered: the study of the norms which must rule during the transition.

There is still no complete report on the studies made by the subcommittees of this group (composed of more than 150 persons, from conservatives to communists), but some things have filtered through to the press in articles and interviews which give an idea of what has already been achieved. In the economic aspect, for example, where no doubt it was more difficult to come to agreement because of the ideological variety of the group, the result has been one of an eclectic posture in which "anything goes." They indicate that they do not want a constitution which is "antistate or anti-private" (Edgardo Boeninger, in the magazine ANALISIS); they are looking for "economic pluralism" in the business organization, but they would also grant "privileges to certain plans based on cooperation and solidarity"--read "cooperatives and workers enterprises." As for this government's accomplishments in the economic area, again--as in past eras--a dangerous "washing of the hands" can be seen, as demonstrated by the statement of Manuel Sanhueza (APSI bulletin) when he said, "I do not feel obligated by the agreements this government signs with foreign interests."

The subject of the transition, which apparently they do consider fundamental for a return to traditional democracy, is focused upon with the expected demands: electoral registration must be opened up, and a constituent

assembly must be called which will study and edit the Fundamental Charter. The Group of 24 attacks the entire institutional road taken to date by the government, and it considers that the transition supported by the group has "no similarity with the one official circles are attempting to impose on the country" (bulletin 2 of the Group for Constitutional Studies). It remains to be seen, then, whether the norms it proposes will be clearer than those concerning the economic system.

"New Democracy" Group Counterattacks

As QUE PASA anticipated, a group of young professionals (among them former university union leaders and nationalists, such as Javier Leturia and Gerardo Monckeberg), decided to inform the president of the republic of their concern about the attacks on the institutional process, at the same time offering their support so that the reforms being pushed by the government may continue and intensify. The group, called "New Democracy," breakfasted with the chief executive, and on leaving they stated that they did not pretend to be a political movement, to represent anybody or to attract adherents, but that they did expect to have some answers and some political ideas in response to the obvious offensive being carried on by opposition groups. Equally active in its support for the new institutionality is the Center for Studies on the National Situation, to which the president's daughter, Lucia Pinochet, among others, is linked, through articles in the press and now by encouraging a program of wide distribution, starting with an exhibition of paintings whose subject is the Chilean child. Public relations man for the corporation is the well-known television animator, Juan Guillermo Vivado. The intention is to collaborate in the analysis and development of the various aspects of institutionality.

The day following the aforementioned breakfast, President Pinochet and Foreign Minister Sergio Fernandez attended the closing ceremony of a CENACHILE seminar, where they took the opportunity to analyze and answer important political concerns of the moment.

The president referred to those who, outside as well as within the country, are seeking to force the government to change its institutional path. In his opinion, some of them are Marxists dressed in "liberal democratic" clothing who are pushing for a return to pseudodemocratic formulas which have already been tried and have failed. In this group, Pinochet mentioned the former leaders of the Popular Unity Party: Luis Corvalan, Clodomiro Almeyda and Carlos Altamirano.

He also referred to certain "displaced politicians belonging to the restless group," who would be anxious to come to power and therefore might share the thinking of those who "honorably consider it imperative to return to the previous institutional forms in the shortest time possible," a line of thinking which also, in the president's opinion, has been outmoded by events.

Further on, Pinochet posed some questions for those "restless" persons to meditate on: "Does the country wish to return first to what we had before, and then later to seek a formula for institutionality? And what assurances are there that in returning to what we had before we would find that formula which is costing us all so much to find today? And if they already have such a formula, why don't they tell us, and we will begin to apply it right now?"

Continuing, he indicated that the military government cannot refuse to preserve peace, order and development in order to comply with "doctrinaire precepts which are not revealed truths and which broke down completely before the Marxist attack. While our government is in power it will discharge its duty and prevent chaos. Nor will it return to formal democracy, abandoning everything to the whims of the pseudodemocrats in order to satisfy personal ambitions. We must not forget that the armed forces took charge of the government in a true act of service, and they will continue their mission until its goals have been reached." The president also referred to the Marxist concept, saying that, although all persons reject it, they probably differ in their emphasis as to its presence within the free political give and take. In his opinion, Marxism not only is not a valid alternative for man's happiness, but "in substance it is a political aggression based on a pretended philosophy." Therefore, it would not be enough to deny it political legitimacy, but "we must organize to defend ourselves against it, since it will find a way to destroy us." Pinochet believes that communism intelligently avoids appearing as an aggressor in politics and, on the contrary, stimulates a false polarization between right and left, between fascism and communism, when "in reality the choice is only between totalitarianism and freedom."

Constitution and Suffrage Not Enough

Minister Fernandez, in turn, emphasized that a new political constitution and a new institutionality in general "cannot be considered as ends in themselves, nor as instruments which by themselves are capable of assuring the objectives proposed." In his opinion, social coexistence also require "healthy political habits and persons who embody them with a true spirit of public service." Further on he indicated that it was not possible to "tie oneself to a dogmatic affirmation of popular sovereignty, limiting political-institutional unrest to the simple establishment of universal suffrage, since the expression of the popular will is not a clear and uncontaminated reality, as some sing like an almost poetic idyll."

As for the opposition attacks on the government and the new institutionality, Minister Fernandez summed them up in three very distinct categories: "One, try to obtain the sympathy of the people through promises within a new democratic regime; two, cause division in the armed forces; and three, attack the head of the government, President Pinochet, through slander, political attacks and lies, pointing to him as the one who has abused legal rights." Open attacks by foreign elements and by Chilean sectors (within

and outside the country) on the actual gains made by the government, as well as the energetic and frank replies of President Pinochet, the interior minister and civilian elements, clearly demonstrate that the country is going through an important political period. There is no doubt that at this time, just before the government's sixth anniversary in power, there is some meditation and revision of positions in official circles as well as among the opposition. All of which leads one to believe that on 11 September the president, in his message to the country, will define and lay out important guidelines for the institutional future. There are even rumors that an extensive text prepared by the chief of state himself will be ready on that day in book form and will not only include important antecedents to the events of 11 September 1973, but will touch on the path taken during these 6 years and the manner in which the armed forces have applied those principles for which they played on that date.

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PINOCHET'S POLITICAL AIMS RATIONALIZED

Santiago ERCILLA in Spanish 15 Aug 79 pp 8,9

[Article by V.G.]

[Text] Opposition raises issue of return to traditional democracy.

Pinochet: "Formal democracy will not return."

"The formulas are easy to find when there is a loyal decision to return to a democratic regime," said former Christian Democratic President Eduardo Frei on 9 August in Quito. Frei went to Ecuador to attend the inauguration of that country's new president, Jaime Roldos.

Frei's words--spoken in a country which is returning to the democratic system--also recalled that other countries on the Latin American continent are turning toward traditional democracy, "since an election has been announced in Peru and another has been held in Bolivia." Frei wonders, then, why Chile cannot give an example of election.

Opinions have been cited previously--in ERCILLA 2296--which point out the consequences for the continent of the events in Nicaragua, as well as of what has been ironically called "the Pezzulo doctrine," which represents the position of influential groups in the American State Department who are seeking to impose their way of government on the continent. To this picture we must add a Brazil which, under its new president, Joao Baptista Figueiredo, is veering toward a democratic opening, and the about-face of an Andean Pact which, from a purely trade organization, has evolved into a political treaty with openly interventionist intentions. All these are elements which--to say the least--would isolate the Chilean government once more, from the point of view of its image.

On the domestic level--and also among exiled politicians--the opposition of all appearances and hues does not analyze in depth the experience and the reality of Chile: they only wave the emblem of "democracy for democracy's sake." Their outbursts do not seek a permanent solution--in Chile, a renewed democracy--but only the fall of Pinochet.

Marxist Pressure

This "democratic wishful thinking," as some have called it, only seeks a government of transition--they even call it one of national unity--which in the end will bring order along with it. The formula can be read in all the clandestine pamphlets being circulated by former members of the Popular Unity Party within as well as from outside Chile.

This picture, painted in large outlines, explains the unexpected but expected--the contradiction is valid--speech Pinochet made to the women of CEMA-Chile [Council of Mothers' Centers] on Friday, 10 August.

Pinochet sees "a current in which many South American countries are adopting the return to so-called parliamentary democracy, with different hues as to terms and forms." Within this current the president observes the pressure of Marxism, disguised as liberal democracy, "pushing hard for accelerated institutional processes, for its own benefit."

For Pinochet, a quick return to political parties and elections would place the very essence of the republic in jeopardy once more. Because that same system did not give way to Marxism, and the criticism is made that it is wrong to be outside of it. The critics do not consider a return to social chaos to be wrong.

In these premisses the president finds the need to seek new formulas which preserve the values destroyed by the corruption of traditional democracy. He is not in favor of bringing order along the way, since no one guarantees him that it can be done, first avoiding the road to chaos.

"And if the opposition already has the formula, why don't they tell us, and we will start using it right now?"

Same Background

Political thinkers have already analyzed, in another way but with the same background, the situation of what they call "anticommunist autocracies." They say that the interests which are mobilizing around the slogan "democracy for democracy's sake" start with the "wishful thinking argument of democratic preference," and they point out that all the countries--those of the north as well as those of the south--prefer democracy over the other two regimes which constitute the alternative: anticommunist autocracy and communist totalitarianism. When these two regimes confront each other, there is a dominant tendency to convert democratic preference into the major premise of a syllogism which would be enunciated as follows:

Major premise: Anticommunist autocracy and communist totalitarianism are inferior to democracy.

Minor premise: In this or that country, an anticommunist autocracy is being imposed against communist totalitarianism.

Conclusion: It is necessary to destabilize it in order to seek the superior form of government: democracy.

In the situation we have indicated--they add--this syllogism is a sophism, because the democratic regime, being superior in the role to the other two, does not necessarily constitute a true, viable alternative to them: what there are--all there are--are autocratic regimes and totalitarian regimes. But the followers of the wishful thinking argument of democratic preference remain firm in their sophism, and from there they proceed to destabilize or cause the destabilization of the existing autocratic regime. If they achieve it, they open the doors to the totalitarian regime. And then come the regrets.

What the sophism of democratic wishful thinking lacks--in order to end these confrontations--is the following addition: in those cases in which the democratic regime is not an immediate, real and workable alternative, one must prefer the autocracy (the lesser evil) to totalitarianism (the greater evil). When I cannot achieve the good (stable democracy), I must resign myself to the lesser evil in order to avoid the greater evil.

"Those who fight without quarter against the autocracies, without measuring the consequences of what they do, lack the resignation which realism brings." And they conclude: "The idea that, if indeed democracy continues to be the desirable system, at the other end of reality is the truth that communism is the greatest enemy: of both the democracies and the autocracies equally."

To Make History

The presidential thinking can be inserted into this analysis. Because of this, he considers it an obligation of the military government to prevent the chaos which benefits Marxism, and he cannot refuse to preserve order, peace and spiritual and cultural development.

The government--according to Pinochet--will do its duty, and "it will not return to formal democracy, abandoning everything to the whim of the pseudodemocrats in order to satisfy personal ambitions." He said that Marxism is not even a philosophy, because if it were solely a philosophy, it would be enough to refuse to legitimize it politically; but if one accepts that it is an aggression, "we must organize ourselves to defend ourselves against it, since it will find a way to destroy us."

There has always been a renunciation of personal government in the president's speeches. It is not the first time Pinochet has accentuated this aspect of his government; but his followers pose another big question, based on the principle that this military regime wants to create a model of

democracy which does not lack its fundamental aspects. Why, then, do they not push, with accelerated energy, the profound, renewing reforms which might guarantee the essence of the republic?

The debt cannot be Hamiltonian. If Macdonald, say his followers, does not want to be a bridge, a parenthesis, between two equally frustrating political systems; if he wants to break the traditional ties of corrupt democracy, then he has the ambition to make history. To do this he must not act from internal or external pressures, but rather advance on all fronts by his own decision.

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JAIIME GUZMAN, REGIME APOLOGIST, INTERVIEWED ON NATIONAL TOPICS

Santiago HOY in Spanish 23-28 Aug 79 pp 22-25

[Interview with Jaime Guzman, ideologue of the regime, by Malu Sierra]

[Text] When Jaime Guzman's name is mentioned, everyone hastens to say that he is very intelligent, a great articulator of ideas. But there the objectivity stops. Then come either the unconditional praise or the more or less vehement epithets. The truth is, there are very few people who know him beyond his great intelligence.

Although he inspired the trade union and nationalist movements, for a long time no one even had a very clear idea of his political leanings. Everyone knew what he was not; not what he was. He became well known during the Popular Unity administration as a genial commentator on television, anti-Marxist like so many others. But it was not until 11 September 1973, that this youth of only 27 years began to show his true colors. He became a political adviser to the government, and co-authored the new draft constitution. He has contributed, almost from the shadows, to the institutionalization process that has made a 180-degree turnabout from what Chileans had always known.

Not too long ago he spoke of an authoritarian, integrated and "technified" democracy with genuine social participation. Today, however, he prefers to refer to the ideal of a stable and vigorous democracy--one which has the necessary tools to protect itself.

It is still not possible to place him in a political pigeonhole, and he himself is responsible for that. He does not like labels, he explains, because he feels that words lend themselves easily to tricky usages. Thus, he does not want to be called just a nationalist, because he says the term has a lot of meanings; this is especially true today, when it is identified with some positions he does not agree with. When pressed to define himself, he reveals that his thinking coincides completely with the Junta's Declaration of Principles. "This government has surpassed my wildest expectations," he confides.

With regard to President Pinochet, whom he admires, he believes that he does not intend to perpetuate himself in power. "He is aware that he must carry out a task that is quite far-reaching, and requires time. That is why he is annoyed by people who are always asking him when he is leaving, instead of asking him about his achievements in the new process of political, economic and social institutionalization," he says.

He claims that he personally is not interested in power, and emphatically denies that he is a politician, at least in the traditional sense. "What I am interested in, basically, is influencing ideas," he states. Reluctantly, he finally agrees to take on the label of "ideologue."

Respectable Man

A very careful man, he never says one thing and means another; nor does he allow others to put words in his mouth. This trait, along with his consistent (and influential) political thought, give weight to his opinions and make it worthwhile to read between the lines of his messages.

This respectability at an age when not many people are respected is not just a coincidence. He has earned this reputation among his friends as well as his enemies through some rather unorthodox characteristics (aside from his well-known intelligence, of course). One characteristic is his respect for others. Another is his seriousness of purpose: he is austere, almost ascetic, and he tries to set an example for others. He is formal in the positive sense of that word; when he makes a promise he comes through. He keeps all his appointments; he is never vulgar, and, finally, he fits everyone's idea of a gentleman. He also has a very rare quality among politicians of today: he has an open mind, which makes him seem truly interested in dialog.

He spoke extensively for this issue of HOY in his bachelor apartment, where the most prominent decoration is an altarpiece that extends from the floor to the ceiling. It was done in the sixteenth century, and depicts the coronation of the virgin. It is the work of Fra Angelico. Other decorations also have religious motifs, reflecting a spiritual concern that shows up in some of his answers. Perhaps this is the only thing anyone knows about his personal life. The rest is a mystery, because as he says, "it is in poor taste to talk about someone."

When talking about others, sometimes he is unexpectedly hard on them, such as when he refers to the recent statement by five government leaders in Quito: "Interventionist, improper and evidence of the poor taste of the nouveau riches of democracy."

That's the way Jaime Guzman is: incisive, precise, direct and unshakable in his ideology. Principles come before everything else, and for this reason, he says, "often reason must take priority over emotions."

Goals And Timetables

[Question] On 11 September the military government will mark its sixth anniversary. The debate now is concentrating on the timetable, although General Pinochet insists that what matters is goals. It is not just the opposition that is discussing this, it is also the supporters of the regime. Men such as William Thayer have affirmed: "It is not right that the head of a Portales-type government, and therefore an impersonal government, should be the first in Chilean history to last more than 6 years in power without being elected or re-elected." The former minister of economics, Fernando Leniz, confessed, "I am concerned about how we are going to return to democratic normalcy in politics." What do you think about this fundamental point, and what are your recommendations?

[Answer] I agree that the issue is fundamental. I do prefer to limit my answer to my own point of view, without referring to the opinions you have mentioned, both from people whom I deeply respect. To judge this type of quotation out of context does not seem appropriate to me.

It is true that President Pinochet stresses that the important thing is goals, not timetables. But that does not mean that the current process has no clear political itinerary. That itinerary was drawn up in the Chacarillas Plan, and later the president made important clarifications and adjustments in his Presidential Message of 11 September last year. It is true that the institutional political plan does not have specific deadlines, but it does give general dates for the various stages. It sets forth a gradual but steady advance towards the full operation of the new democratic institutionalization. Any attempt to indefinitely perpetuate the military government, as alleged, would be completely excluded by this plan.

It does not seem logical to attribute more importance to the deadlines than to the great creative task which the country is carrying out. I believe that the current regime is promoting a very deep political, economic and social transformation that will be a first for Chile in this century.

It's not just that we are growing economically at twice the rates of the past, such that if current trends continue we will be a developed country in the next decade; aside from that, we are building a truly free society by overcoming the stranglehold of statism and monopolistic or oligarchic privileges that are imposed by law. For decades, a socialist mentality promoted such conditions.

Finally, along this same new road, we are moving towards effective social justice, because development allows for wealth to be spread, not poverty; and because the destruction of the legal protection given to certain centers of power which enjoyed unjust privileges, means that in the private sector the key factor is efficiency, not friendly ties with the current administration. It also means that social benefits will accrue to the really poor sector, not to those who have more influence.

The full implementation of this new reality or economic and social institutionalization will be not only the solid foundation for a new political institutionalization, but also an indispensable requisite for the fruitful and stable functioning of the democratic system of government, whatever specific modality may be adopted. Perhaps the differences in the emphasis the supporters and opponents of the present regime place on goals and timetables lie in different interpretations of the above factors. What would seem a long and tedious wait for a cherished "reestablishment" to the opposition, would seem a daily, passionate creative challenge to those of us who believe in the new institutionalization.

A New Society

[Question] Many people think you are the political brain behind the present government, that you helped create the new institutionalization. Was this the Chile you dreamed about at the age of 26, when you were fighting with all the weapons available at the time against Marxism? Could we have reached this stage through the democratic system, without the intervention of the Armed Forces?

[Answer] That is two questions in one. First, let me say that the idea of me being the political brain of the current government is simply a fantasy. I am just one more participant in a great task. With regard to my dreaming about this regime when I fought against Marxism, I should confess that it is not so. This government has surpassed my wildest expectations. I always thought that in the best of cases, if we got rid of Marxism, we would continue to struggle with the socializing statism that had prevailed since 1938 and had been the main cause of the economic backwardness and the poverty of so many Chileans, and furthermore had curbed the daily freedoms of the common man, even though the classic political rights were in effect.

Now, as to whether this profound, libertarian, modern transformation would have been possible without the intervention of the Armed Forces, I do not think so. In my opinion, the previous government proved that it was no longer effective when it was unable to stop first the erosion and later the collapse of our democratic life. The combination of the statist socialism that I have mentioned and the political demagoguery that the former government favored, was simply explosive. The time bomb for the whole system had been planted a long time ago. In 1973 it just blew up.

[Question] Once the military regime leaves, do you believe this new institutionalization will stay on, and what political power will it have? Who--or what ideology--do you think will govern this country?

[Answer] I think that if we continue along the road we have chosen on all fronts, the new system will last as a solid and objective presence that no one can deny. With regard to the political forces that will govern in the future, I think that will depend basically on the capacity of the current government to resolve the problem of proceeding towards the consolidation of the new democracy.

This government has overcome the principal obstacles to any de facto regime: strengthening power and control, achieving economic success, and avoiding corruption in the exercise of power. Only one challenge remains: achieving a peaceful continuity through a gradual evolution, not through the rupture that would result from a stagnation of the political-institutional process. I am confident that President Pinochet will reach this goal, as he has done with other challenges.

However, I believe that the consistency of the economic-social transformation is so strong that if the process continues normally in this area, there will necessarily be a power struggle among moderate and relatively similar political forces. No one can avoid the new reality, so everyone should adapt to it. But it would be a shame if it were to come about with no recognition of the person who made it all possible, as is happening now in Spain. It is only because of the gigantic progressive task undertaken by Franco that it is today possible to think in terms of a stable democracy, as long as separatism and terrorism are overcome. But the fatigue produced by the unnecessary prolongation of the Franco regime in the end, resulted in today's disdain for Franco. I repeat, however, that I am confident that President Pinochet will be able to solve that problem.

Role Of Opposition

[Question] You have said that the opposition's attitude has caused the prolongation of the exceptional powers vested in the regime. What do you think is the role of the opposition today? Do you think that, within the present context, it can and should provide valid alternatives?

[Answer] Of course. But it is not easy to answer that without the opponents saying "Down with it!" A government adviser is never too trustworthy for them. In spite of that, I will say that I think any government needs independent criticism so that it will not become too arrogant or close itself into a tight circle. The more balanced and objective the criticism, the more it will be able to influence the authorities and public opinion. Sometimes, after I have read HOY, which I always do Saturday nights in order to recover a little on Sunday, I ask myself: How can intelligent and honest people see such a totally black world, in which positive aspects always seem to be ignored or disdained?

I would only suggest that those opponents who believe in my good intentions set forth whatever alternative or opinion they feel appropriate, but without trying to destabilize the government or President Pinochet. Because that is not only futile, but it also heightens the conflict and is counterproductive for all those who are truly working for a national reconciliation. That one prerequisite, obviously including a condition that there be no promotion of totalitarianism or political violence, is enough for the government and the opposition to coexist in a viable ideological struggle. I think that the opposition is sharp enough to know what are the most sensitive points in government stability. If they insist on hitting those points, they cannot expect any government, let alone a military one, to treat them with kid gloves.

[Question] You maintain that to have a democracy Chileans must attain a sufficient level of cultural development. How is that possible without training? Did the experience of Popular Unity cause you to lose your faith in their political maturity, despite past tradition?

[Answer] Of course, the experience of Popular Unity showed something very important, that democracy as a form of government does not necessarily favor the freedom, security and progress we desire. Chile never felt the threat of totalitarianism and oppressive statism, which suffocated liberty, as much as it did during that period. Nor has there ever been as much international subversion practiced by foreign imperialists who threatened our national and personal security; or as much economic chaos, the antithesis of progress.

This does not make me reject democracy. On the contrary, I continue to believe in it as a normal system of government, valid for Chile's future, given our tradition and idiosyncrasies. Any other idea would seem to me wrong or unrealistic. But I do feel that in light of the above-mentioned experience, we must design new politico-institutional formulae that respond to the essence of democracy by correcting the errors that destroyed the old institutionalization of the past. From my point of view, this new democracy is expressed in the broad lines of the draft constitution which I helped to write. Of course I admit that, like any human effort, it can stand many improvements without losing its original and basic validity.

With regard to the Chilean people's confidence in its political maturity, I am convinced that democracy can only function in its true and stable form in countries with an economic, social and cultural development that provides most citizens with an effective commitment to the prevailing system. Otherwise, totalitarian or demagogic extremists would find fertile ground for their activities, because democracy means nothing to him who has gotten nothing but poverty and backwardness from it.

Now, if we analyze the period when Chilean democracy functioned fully, we see that it occurred when suffrage was exercised by the minority groups in the country who had the strongest cultural development, who felt the strongest commitment to the system. But when the great popular masses joined the electorate, groups that had received nothing from the governing regime began to play a decisive role. Democratic instability was the logical consequence. It is obvious that no one can promote the return to a restricted suffrage, or to bribery.

Democratic stability can only be regained, then, through substantial economic, social and cultural development of the country, making all Chileans supporters of democracy. I think this is feasible for the second half of the coming decade. Thus, elections will determine government trends, but they will not call into question the nation's essential way of life. That is another strong reason for validating the Chacarrillas Plan, and the matter of training that you mentioned is precisely what that plan seeks in the gradual transition phase.

Consumer Society

[Question] On many occasions you have stressed that the task of the military government is to generate the conditions for spiritual and material progress. Do you really believe that the former is being achieved through the economic system that some call "social market" economics, and others call liberal capitalism, and which under any name has resulted in a consumer fever that is unknown to Chile?

[Answer] Social market economics is providing and will continue to provide greater material well-being, gradually. Part of it is reflected in greater freedom of choice for consumers. Spiritual progress, and the suppression of materialism that it demands, do not depend on a greater or lesser quantity of goods available, although it seems true that intensive and fast-paced economic development involves this danger to a greater extent than a slower or more subdued development. But we cannot refuse to progress to a greater extent and more rapidly, because that would entail keeping hundreds of thousands of Chileans in a state of severe poverty for several more decades.

I concede that it is a very difficult and delicate problem, but I think the correct solution lies in a moral education that will give a spiritual sense to life, in which austerity, sobriety and discipline are taught as the means to happiness and perfection. From a Christian point of view such as mine, this is easier because it is sufficient to learn through our internal life, through prayer and the sacraments, that we must be faithful and believe that we pilgrims are in this world too short a time to be worried about material goods and to derive happiness from perishable things. But even for non-believers, I think there is an attractive force in the spiritual domination of oneself which allows man to be a master of things, rather than their slave, and a master of the passions that engender an insatiable appetite for acquiring and enjoying things indiscriminately.

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'HOY' GIVES OVERVIEW OF PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION

Santiago HOY in Spanish 23-28 Aug 79 pp 8-13

[Article by Hernan Millas]

[Text] The political debate has not subsided during these 2 months when HOY has been forced into silence.

It was as if the calendar in its unceasing march forward, or the winds from abroad that had changed direction, were demanding definitions, or confirming the road chosen.

The latter was done by General Pinochet. In Chacarillas, in Linares, breakfasting with journalists, speaking to the members of the Council of Mothers' Centers (CEMA-Chile), the chief of state repeated that he would be cutting no corners in his political itinerary.

On 9 July in Chacarillas, the same place where 2 years ago he revealed for the first time the stages of this rocky road of institutionalization, Pinochet praised the qualities of "a transition period which is leading us gradually, not suddenly."

Those who hoped for important announcements were disappointed. It was a speech full of messages for those who "confuse the transition to a new democracy with an indiscriminate invitation to debate with no limits whatsoever;" for the "old politicians"--never left out of his speeches--"who do not hesitate today to offer their services as supposed alternatives to this government;" for those who are trying to "ignore the inalienable right and the unavoidable duty of my government to lead the process of creating a new institutionalization;" for those who do not respect "the two very precise limits" which exclude "directly or indirectly questioning the legitimacy of the government" and including as valid participants in Chilean civic life those who promote totalitarian doctrines or belong to totalitarian movements."

With regard to the future constitution, he repeated that the document--which is currently being studied by the Council of State--will later be submitted for final study to the Government Junta, and then will be the subject of a plebiscite.

Warnings

In Linares, Pinochet stated: "We will carry out the transition without pressure of any kind." He added: "Pay close attention, you demagogues who are now taking turns showing concern and expressing a desire to return to power: this government is not a caretaker government, nor an emergency government, nor just a transition government."

Breakfasting with reporters at the Diego Brtales Building, he said that "a military government should be in power for a long time, for if it is not, the country's problems cannot be solved." He explained the limits within which disagreement with this authoritarian regime may be expressed: "No one may go overboard and act in an offensive or destructive manner, or take a position which does not recognize the government's legitimacy."

At this breakfast a concern was expressed: the military government was about to celebrate its sixth anniversary, and that period of time coincided with the term of office of Chilean presidents.

Wouldn't it be appropriate to give a constitutional character to his stay in power? The same question was posed among the former politicians who are serving with this government. "It is not right," said William Thayer to COSAS, "that the head of a Portales-type government, and therefore an impersonal government, should be the first in Chilean history to last more than 6 years in power without being elected or re-elected."

"Perhaps it would be a good idea to give the country a couple of years to assess the results of the autocratic government of Pinochet so that the people can decide in full view of the world if Pinochet deserves to be the first president to serve a constitutional term of office within a strictly constitutional order."

For Thayer, 1978 to 1980 should be a period with "a Junta, whether the same as we have now or not, but with a different president."

He concludes: "The important thing is to abbreviate as much as possible the stage during which we reestablish a democratic government and elect a president."

On the other hand, Jaime Guzman, talking with HOY (pages 20-25), feels that "he (Pinochet) must carry out a task that is quite far-reaching, and requires time."

In the above-mentioned breakfast with journalists, General Pinochet dismissed those traditional rules. He said that the idea of a six-year term "is nonsense," and stressed that "this government has nothing to do with previous governments."

Constitution

Although General Fernando Matthei, member of the Junta and commander in chief of the Chilean Air Force (FACH), expressed some personal concerns to EL MERCURIO on his first anniversary on the job (24 July), he did not express much enthusiasm for the Ortuzar Constitution. "What is the hurry for a constitution?" he asked. "Today we are living under the Constitution on 1925, modified by constitutional amendments, and we have been doing just fine. In my opinion, we could continue like this."

Matthei stated that in order for a constitution to receive the necessary consensus, there would first have to be a return to political institutionalization. "We should be thinking about a reasonable time period," he affirmed, "to allow political parties to be established once again. This will take 3 or 4 years." He emphasized: "I am in favor of allowing the free development of political parties once again."

His predecessor, retired General Gustavo Leigh, took the opportunity to say that his removal "was the direct consequence of my continuous efforts to put into effect the postulates that inspired the 11 September movement." What were those postulates? "To restore Chile's control over its own affairs, and the justice and institutionalization that had been destroyed," explained Leigh.

"We must return to a free life, and not act in secret as we do now, when laws are passed in secret and the executive branch is confused with the legislative branch," he stated.

General Pinochet responded to that at the breakfast with the reporters: "The only thing I can tell you is that he (Leigh) was a member of the government, and I think the government was justified in asking him to leave."

Criticism

The draft constitution was greeted with reservations by others. Francisco Bulnes Sanfuentes, a former national senator and ambassador, indicated that the draft that had been made public was not what he wanted for the future of Chile, and he presented the changes he would make.

Another former national senator, Patricio Phillips, told COSAS: "The new constitution does not impress me as being good for Chile, because while it is necessary for there to be a strong executive, we must also consider such things as the inherent human freedoms that should be protected by the constitution and not be subject to the whims of the government. Furthermore, with this constitution, if things turned around again, we would never get rid of Marxism a second time."

Phillips stressed the need to assure the freedom to disagree. "Disagreement is normal among human beings. This must be respected within certain rules for coexistence. And that is what I think the new constitution should have: a provision for everyone to express himself freely."

Concerning political parties, Phillips admitted that he missed politics, and that he is offended by "the scorn with which politicians are treated."

Former Minister of Economics Fernando Leniz also revealed his reservations about the return to politics.

He confided to Pilar Vergara of EL MERCURIO: "I am concerned about how we are going to return to democratic normalcy. One can think what he will about universal suffrage, but in Chile we will inevitably return to it."

Leniz advocated achieving a consensus "about solutions that I think will always be central in Chile," and lamented that "if anyone criticizes the government, there are those who believe that all he wants to do is bring down the government."

Return

Alvaro Bardon, president of the Central Bank, expressed his thoughts on the new system, saying: "I think that the military government's obligation to the country is to create the necessary conditions for a stable, modern, genuine democratic system. But these things cannot be done by decree, nor by dictating a constitution. The social system operates democratically in the areas of economics, labor, education, communities, etc. When the system has libertarian rules, an institutional system can be created and we can say, 'We've finished our work.' It is hard to say when that will happen, but of course everyone wants it to be as soon as possible."

Thus, not just one, but many voices of people serving in government recommend changing the itinerary and postponing the birth of the future constitution to a time when "more experienced, more representative sectors (Phillips) can draw up the constitution."

A new system: before or after the constitution? Political parties: how long will they remain suspended and dissolved? Isn't 6 years a long enough term for an emergency regime? These are some of the questions.

Winds From Abroad

A new element joined the debate, the objective view of the situation as seen by other American nations such as Nicaragua, Ecuador, Brazil, Bolivia and Peru. However, it is not a matter of importing models or "submitting to foreign dictates." That would entail equal charges when those countries had authoritarian military regimes.

Nevertheless, it was the Armed Forces themselves that in Ecuador and Bolivia decided to return to their barracks and turn power over to civilians. In Peru, the military allowed political parties and the election of a constitutional assembly to draw up a new constitution. They set a date for presidential elections in 9 months. On 28 July, a civilian leader will assume power. Brazil has been undergoing a metamorphosis, with a parliament, elections, parties, freedom of expression and the return of exiles.

Nicaragua is the anti-model, in that after 40 years of dictatorship a bloody holocaust erupted because there was no rational way out.

If in Ecuador, on the occasion of the inauguration of President Jaime Roldos, a great number of statesmen were able to come together, it was because they were attending an event that is to set a great example.

It was Admiral Poveda, chief of the military triumvirate, who made the speech wishing success to Roldos. Ecuador had gone from a dictatorship to a democracy without a shot being fired.

Poveda's embrace became a symbol.

The declaration of Quito, signed by the presidents of Costa Rica, Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela, plus the chief of government of Spain (who has also had valuable experience), with an expression of solidarity by the foreign ministers of Peru and Bolivia, affirmed that "the democratic process which is taking place in Latin America is a clear demonstration that only truly representative institutions are adequate tools to guarantee the exercise of liberty, the observance of human rights and the meeting of the real needs of the people."

Although every situation is different, depending on conditions in each country, most of the signatories to that declaration have one thing in common: at some point in their history, democracy faded into the background in those countries and military governments took over. The latter felt that their mission was finished, and returned power to civilians.

But the most important thing is their conviction that "the best way to ensure the prosperity of the people is to recognize the domain of freedom and the rule of law under new forms of democracy."

And these new forms have been sought after in Chile by various groups. In addition to the constitutional study group of 24 and the group of constitutional studies chaired by the former president of the senate, Hugo Zepeda, another group was formed by young professionals, former leaders of the Catholic University Student Federation (FEUC) and of the National Secretariat of Youth. The latter group, headed by Javier Leturia, will conduct an exchange of ideas on the nature of this "new democracy."

Within days of the military government's sixth anniversary, the debate is gaining momentum, and new voices are joining the chorus.

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CHILE

PINOCHET, MINISTER OF INTERIOR SPEAK TO GROUP OF WOMEN

Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 11 Aug 79 pp A-1, A-20

[Text] The president of the republic, General Augusto Pinochet, stated yesterday that the military government "cannot refuse to maintain order and peace and cultural and spiritual development. It will not put those elements in jeopardy in order to implement any doctrinal precepts that are not the absolute truth and that, furthermore, have completely failed in the face of the Marxist offensive."

The chief of state, speaking at the closing ceremonies of a training seminar for volunteers with the Council of Mothers' Centers (CEMA-Chile), stated that "as long as our government is in power, it will fulfill its duty; it will prevent chaos, and it will not return to a formal democracy, abandoning everything to the mercy of pseudodemocrats to satisfy personal ambitions."

At the same event, which took place yesterday noon in Room 2 of the Diego Portales Building, the minister of interior spoke as well. He also mentioned the political process.

President Pinochet, referring to the opposition, asked "if the country wants first to return to the old ways in order to think about modifying the system." He added, "What guarantees exist that after returning to that system we will find that formula that we are searching for so hard today?"

"And if they already have it, why don't they tell us, so that we can put it to work right now?" he emphasized.

Chilean Woman

First of all, the chief of state expressed the government's appreciation for Chilean women, who, he said, "have understood better than anyone what it means to live in order, in peace and with the tranquility that comes from being able to function in a society in which a sane, hatred-free environment is guaranteed."

He added that the Chilean woman has been able to understand with admirable wisdom the meaning of some of the material sacrifices that have been required in order to achieve our goals.

"You have understood," he stressed, "that it was imperative that we take measures that required great sacrifices. They have resulted in more than a few deprivations in your homes. But without the timely adoption of such measures," he pointed out, "it would be difficult to talk today of a prosperous future for Chile. But such a future is in sight, and it has already inspired the admiration of many countries, who look upon our situation with surprise, given the magnitude of the achievements and accomplishments we have made."

Political Situation

Later, the leader referred to the political situation. The text of his speech is reprinted below:

"However, I would like on this occasion to bring to your attention two facts: first, that in recent times some former politicians have appeared on the scene with declarations that do not take into consideration the times in which we live. Either they have forgotten 11 September, 1973, or they are living in another world.

"In most cases, I think they are motivated by the conviction that while one may be firm and sincere, one does not forget that one's actions are politically ambitious. Now, if they are not so loyal, at least they are wrong, because basically I think that they are part of a movement that in many countries in South America is calling for the return to so-called parliamentary democracy, with different timetables and formulae in different countries.

"Without a doubt, this movement has been heavily influenced by Marxism, cloaked today in liberal-democratic robes. These forces have intensively campaigned for accelerated institutional processes that will work to their own benefit. Or maybe you haven't read the declarations of (Luis) Corvalan in Moscow, Claudio Almeyda or (Carlos) Altamirano?

"I also think that there are those who honestly believe it is imperative to return to previous institutional forms that have been made obsolete by events in the past. They want this return to take place as soon as possible, or at least they want the government irrevocably committed to that objective.

"I believe that some of the participants in this campaign are displaced politicians who belong to anxious groups of Chileans who are out of step with the times, and who share these opinions in their desire to attain power.

"Now, looking at the American scene, they are smart enough to make the public believe that in a short period of time this country can return to the system of political parties and elections. They forget that if that happened, once again the very essence of the republic would be threatened. That, ladies, is a constant worry for me.

"I also feel that it is necessary to ask those citizens, Why are you so anxious to return to something that has already been proven to be ineffective under Marxism? Why do you consider the absence of these institutional forms to be

an omission, when you do not consider it an omission to want to return to the social chaos they entailed?

"It is undoubtedly our mission, not theirs--better yet, it is everyone's mission--to think up ways to institutionalize the expression of the general will while at the same time preserving the values that have been affronted by the corruption of traditional democracy.

Questions

"Here I have a few questions that I have asked myself, and I leave it to you to answer them:

--"Does the country want first to return to the old ways in order to think about modifying the system?

--"And what guarantees exist that after returning to that system we will find that formula that we are searching for so hard today?

--"And if they already have it, why don't they tell us, so that we can put it to work right now?

--"In other words, why is it good to return to chaos, and bad to preserve the essence of the social life which the country enjoys today?

--"Or have our values been reversed, and good is bad and bad is good?

"More than one defender of so-called democracy will say that they do not want to return to chaos, but to democracy.

"Well, ladies, I say to them: if you, sir, have the formula for it, give it to me and we will put it into practice this very instant.

"Government Will Prevent Chaos"

"But I also say to them: the military government cannot refuse to maintain order and peace and cultural and spiritual development. It will not put those elements in jeopardy in order to implement any doctrinal precepts that are not the absolute truth and that, furthermore, have completely failed in the face of the Marxist offensive, as everyone was able to see during the 1,000 blackest days of our history.

"Therefore, I would also like to say here that as long as our government is in power, it will fulfill its duty; it will prevent chaos, and it will not return to a formal democracy, abandoning everything to the mercy of pseudodemocrats to satisfy personal ambitions.

"We must not forget that the Armed Forces and the Forces of Order took charge of the government in a true act of service, and they will carry out their mission until they achieve their goals.

Marxism

"Another thought that I would like to share with you concerns our political organization as compared with Marxism. I believe that different opinions on this matter constitute the starting point for our thinking.

"Ladies, we all reject the concept of Marxism, but we undoubtedly differ regarding the approach that we should take to its presence.

"Marxism is not a valid alternative for mankind's happiness in his material and spiritual development. I think that it is particularly unsuitable for Chileans, but I do not think it is futile to point that out, because in the past in our country, and in the present in many advanced nations of the world, it is considered to be a valid alternative. It has even been allowed as a political party capable of attaining power through democratic means.

"Now, if we agree that Marxism is not a valid option, and that it can no longer function as a legitimate political party, we may still disagree in terms of what we think it really is. Marxism is not even a philosophy that everyone can reject; it is basically a form of political aggression, couched in terms of an alleged philosophy.

"The difference lies in the fact that if Marxism is just a philosophy that we do not accept for Chile, it would be sufficient to outlaw it politically. But if we consider that it is basically a form of aggression, we must organize ourselves to defend against it, because it will try to destroy us.

"For this reason, communism has wisely hidden this difference, because it knows that if it is considered a type of aggression it will not be able to participate directly in politics; but it can continue to act in other ways. For this purpose, it has stimulated and exploited a false polarization between the left and the right, between fascism and communism, when actually there is no alternative but totalitarianism or liberty.

"If a fascist ideology used the same methods as communism in order to prevail, there is no doubt that the same method would be proposed to combat it. But it happens that such is not the case; historically, fascism, or nazism in its day, has espoused ideas that are not attractive outside the nation where the movement is born. For example, we have the concepts of racial superiority and the suppression of other races. This is why fascist totalitarianism had to resort to violence, to arms. And this is why the political organization of democracies was an effective instrument for combatting and defeating it.

"But this is not the case with communist totalitarianism, which is presented as the possibility of a utopian society. It exploits the differences among men, not to overcome them but to gain power. Communism does not confront democratic societies; it does not meet them head-on. It infiltrates them, deteriorating human values, and uses democratic institutions, which frequently find that communism is among their most loyal defenders.

"It is because of this difference that the instruments for combatting communist totalitarianism cannot be the same as those used against totalitarian fascism. In the latter case, the democratic institutions of the Western world were used, while in the case of communism they are not only ineffective, but provide a means for communism to infiltrate.

"But communism has always stimulated this false antinomy between fascism and Marxism, knowing full well that the confrontation of the traditional democratic organization of the West and the already defeated fascism that has been rejected by the free world, can be used as a pretext for broadening its own prospects.

"Isn't it curious, ladies, that the Soviet Union is the only country that still celebrates the triumph of the democracies in the Second World War? Isn't it significant that there is such an obsession with the name 'Democratic Republic' in all the nations that have fallen under Marxism, in which the harshest Marxist-Leninist laws are promulgated?

"The real alternative, then, is not left or right. The alternative is totalitarianism or liberty, and the totalitarian aggression of our times is not fascism, but Soviet communism.

"You, better than anyone, have borne in mind what this country was a short time ago, and have remembered the catastrophic state the Armed Forces and the Forces of Order were in when we took over. For this reason, you can well appreciate everything that has been accomplished, and can assess intelligently what this means for your children. You can leave Chile a great and free legacy built with your sacrifice and with your own hands. Your talent, imagination and creativity will be the best guarantee of prosperity and security for them.

"That is why I have taken these moments to discuss some of the concerns that affect us all."

President Pinochet ended his speech by repeating his admiration for the women volunteers' social efforts "in giving each mother hope in her life."

He concluded by expressing the government's recognition and gratitude for the support they provided, "which has been the main stimulus for forging ahead with this national process."

Minister Fernandez

For his part, the minister of the interior stressed that a new political constitution and a new institutionalization "cannot be considered an end in themselves, nor as an instrument that will alone be capable of ensuring the objectives we have proposed."

"Juridical norms," he pointed out, "are one means of organizing social coexistence which should respond to a desire for the latter to follow certain moral guidelines."

He added that "neither are they a guarantee that this goal will be achieved, since a political constitution may favor such an achievement but there must be healthy political customs and persons who embody them with a true spirit of public service."

"To favor, not ensure, the goals of justice and the common well-being, is what the new system proposes," he said.

Later, while explaining the institutional objectives, the minister indicated that the objective is to "favor a society in which liberty, security, progress and justice prevail simultaneously, as much as possible."

"It is impossible," he said, "to anchor oneself in a dogmatic affirmation of popular sovereignty, limiting political-institutional concerns to the simple achievement of universal suffrage. That would be unrealistic, because the popular will is human will, and the conditions, the environment and the general context in which that will is expressed are essential factors."

Later, Fernandez stated that "it is enough to consider the influence of propaganda or of the mass media to see that the expression of the people's will is not a crystalline, pure element that some praise with almost poetic sentiments."

"To believe that mere suffrage alone can guarantee the achievement of fundamental values," he stressed, "is patently absurd. Democracy means nothing to those who are in the midst of poverty and ignorance. It means nothing to those who see that under democracy the very foundations of human freedom and security have eroded."

Totalitarianism

"We must recognize," he added, "that it is necessary to give the government the weapons to overcome totalitarianism and statism, terrorism and subversion, and demagoguery, a virus that hypocritically corrodes the democratic system."

"This is the essence of the constitutional problem," he emphasized.

Government

Further on the minister of interior said that "we are not in a mere transition government." "This is not a parenthesis between two political governments."

He added that "in each of the sectors in which the government operates, new institutions, new systems are being created, and they also make up the new institutionalization."

Fernandez referred to the domestic and foreign activities of groups that oppose the military government, indicating that "they have just one objective: to replace the current regime."

"The apparent solutions to certain problems, which have even won a certain amount of support from people in the government, are designed only to replace this government as soon as possible," he asserted.

He indicated that "however, reason is already taking over, and these statements have not attained the desired goals."

"They are desperate," he stressed, "because they see that the government has not lost popular support, that it is working for the present and the future with modern techniques, with different visions than those of the past, breaking with the old ways that the politicians are still tied to."

He admitted at the same time that these groups have had some success abroad, in that they have received "material support from the socialist and totalitarian world, led by the Soviet Union and other nations that have never experienced what Chile has."

Exiles

Later, Fernandez stated that "there are many who are asking to come back, even though they left desperately under the law of asylum."

"In this respect," he emphasized, "this is one of the largest banners waved by the opposition and some international organizations: the return of the exiles."

"Now they are asking us to let all those living outside the country come back as soon as possible," he said, adding that just a few years ago "the only thing they could think of was getting out of the country, and they desperately and pitifully begged us to let them leave their own country."

"It is these very people," he asserted, "who say that in this country torture is practiced, and that all sorts of atrocities are committed."

The minister repeated that "the government will not change its policy of refusing to allow the return of these people to Chile."

Opposition

Finally, the minister of interior maintained that this same opposition movement is carrying out its activities "on three clear-cut fronts: One, trying to gain the sympathy of the population through promises of a new democratic regime. Two, dividing the Armed Forces and Forces of Order. Three, attacking the leader of the government, His Excellency Augusto Pinochet, by calumny, political attacks, and criminal acts, claiming that he has abused his legal faculties."

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CHILE

ACTIVITIES OF SOCIAL AND CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS DISCUSSED

Santiago QUE PASA in Spanish 23-29 Aug 79 p 8

/Article by M. Angelica Bulnes: "Was a PDC Summit Held in Quito?"

/Text/ The Christian Democrats were very much at home in Quito. In Quito to attend the inauguration of the new president, Jaime Roldos, old line Christian Democrats from all over the world had an opportunity to meet, talk and exchange ideas.

Foreign press agencies report that Christian Democratic leaders (and those of associated parties) from Europe and Latin America sponsored an unofficial summit presided by Mariano Rumor. Reportedly, Eduardo Frei, Luis Herrera, Giulio Andreotti and Osvaldo Hurtado, Ecuadorean Christian Democratic leader and currently his nation's vice president, were present among others. It was also said that Spanish Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez was also present. Some political observers, who keep up with popular music trends, call him "the Julio Iglesias of politics" because although he does not say "I like you, I love you, I adore you," he did demonstrate in Quito that he had a big enough heart to accommodate the various political leaders and show them his affection and concern. So much so that he unexpectedly signed the declaration supporting the restoration of democracy in Latin America sponsored by the Andean Pact representatives and thus entered into Latin American internal politics for the first time.

Friendship and Advise

It has not been officially confirmed whether an actual Christian Democratic "summit" took place, but QUE PASA was able to gather some information on a few events and subjects which occurred at that time when true democratic euphoria reigned supreme, according to the Chilean Christian Democrats themselves.

The delegations were housed in two hotels, the Colon and the Quito Inter-Continental. Therefore, it was not unusual that in the course of daily activities, friendships were developed which of course led to very intense discussions. Formal meetings were replaced by breakfast and luncheon

meetings, late night hours and bar hopping. Together with presidents such as Turbay, Carazo, Herrera, Suarez and Violeta Chamorro (who was accorded that rank), there were former Presidents Frei, Andreotti and Rumor. Representatives from the Venezuelan, Uruguayan, Peruvian and Chilean Christian Democratic Parties exchanged friendly greetings with social democratic leaders such as Felipe Gonzales and Mario Soares or with representatives of the new Nicaraguan government such as Foreign Relations Minister Father Miguel D'Escoto (a Maryknoll priest) who was well-known in Chile when he headed the INAP (an institute working with slum dwellers), or Edem Pastora (Commander Zero), a Sandinista leader who described himself as a social democrat, a Catholic and a moderate...

Apparently, Nicaragua was the main topic of conversation in Ecuador. The majority of the leaders mentioned either were coming from or going to that country. As we said in our last edition, there is great concern for the future of that region and the Christian Democrats were apparently pressured, including by Adolfo Suarez, into taking action and making their presence felt more strongly in the reconstruction of Nicaragua to provide a counterweight to keep that country from falling into communist hands. And more recently, it has been said that Venezuelan President Luis Herrera has decided to help rebuild Nicaragua on the condition that Christian Democrats are included in the new Nicaraguan government's cabinet.

Lingering Euphoria

There were other items of interest which came out of that political get together in Ecuador. There is no question, on the one hand, that these leaders are studying the possibilities of a large social democratic-christian democratic movement in support of a rapid return to popular elections, a common goal that goes beyond the many differences over ideological issues that might exist between the two groups. In Chile, what is more, this situation has already manifested itself through statements issued by the "Group of 24" and the "Group of 10."

It was also learned that another split among exiled Chilean socialists will take place soon. Apparently they will oust Almeyda because he is considered to be one of "Moscow's pawns" and Erich Schnake will take over the leadership. Schnake will continue to be the favorite of the faction that has taken a more moderate stand towards Marxism and this will bring the protective nod of the Social Democratic International.

Another important aspect is the political role that the Andean Pact nations have decided to play in Latin America. Their impact on the situation in Nicaragua has inspired and brought them closer together. This can be seen in the joint declaration (see QUE PASA No. 435) as well as in the present announcement of a meeting of Christian Democratic presidents in Panama in October where, oddly enough, the subject of the Andean Pact has been placed on the agenda although the host country does not belong to that group.

It is not strange, therefore, that in Chile also the political Christian Democratic leaders are still in a state of euphoria and that they have gone to great lengths to express their disagreement with the present government. Last Friday they issued a statement signed by Andres Zaldivar, Jaime Castillo, Tomas Reyes and Raul Troncoso in response to General Pinochet's latest speech in which they directly call on the Armed Forces to overthrow the military regime and accept their principle demands such as the opening of the electoral register and the convening of a Constituent Assembly.

Former President Frei also, in a long interview broadcast over radio on Monday, enthusiastically praised the recent events in Nicaragua and Ecuador.

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CHILE

CARTER'S HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY VIEWED AS INTERVENTIONIST TOOL

Santiago TERCERA DE LA HORA in Spanish 5 Aug 79 p 2

[Article by Juan de Dios Carmona: "Toward a Free World?"]

[Text] When President Carter announced his human rights policy, the western world and those on the other side of the Iron Curtain held out serious hope for the future of humanity. It was thought, at first, that the policy would help to surmount the confrontation between economic systems created by the Soviet Union (socialism versus capitalism) and that it would measure the political future of the world on the basis of spiritual and moral terms in defense of the common man. The idea was exhilarating and, if it had been handled in a statesmanlike fashion, it could have become explosive because of the support and numbers it would have attracted.

Unfortunately, that was not the case and some felt that President Carter had become a preacher who was unable to give expression or political backing to his human rights doctrine.

However, this excellent idea is leading to something that goes beyond simple preaching. It has gradually evolved into political action that includes intervention by the United States which is trying to impose, at its pleasure, democratic standards or patterns on certain regimes.

The concept of safeguarding human rights has been used in a discriminating, unjust and selective fashion by the theoreticians employed by the U.S. government. For this reason, it has degenerated into a demand for /a change of government/ [in boldface] in some countries through efforts at imposing a type of U.S. democracy.

Let us look at the examples which speak louder than words.

Safeguards for human rights are not demanded for regimes governed by Soviet communism. The Helsinki accords have been forgotten.

Neither are they applied to governments, however dictatorial or repressive they might be, that call themselves "progressive" and hide behind the "socialist" label regardless of their leanings.

Human rights principles are not invoked and some inhumane practices of certain regimes are ignored if they supply oil to the western powers. Bringing barrels of oil into play is a good political power "move."

By limiting its application to a few small countries that do not have these protective mechanisms, the idea of human rights safeguards has become an outright intervention tool to which we referred earlier. To accomplish this humanitarian reasons are invoked which the targeted governments themselves could adopt. But this appeal has been exchanged now for a /demand for a change of government./ [In boldface]

It is imperative, in this respect, to recall the words of U.S. Ambassador to Nicaragua Lawrence Pezullo who had presented his credentials to Somoza. His words, and we quote, are as follows: "Our role," he said, "was to overthrow Somoza and we accomplished that. We began playing that role /last year/ [in boldface] shortly after the first clashes and there was great foresight /on the part of the U.S. government/ [in boldface] in recognizing the problem and providing a solution through /political change."/ [in boldface]

It is clear, the Somoza government must be telling itself--and I agree with it completely--it was not defensible. But I do not want this situation to cloud the gravity of the position taken by U.S. leaders. Somoza was a typical leader of U.S. intervention and it could be said that now the United States had the right to overthrow him because "one can undo what has been done." But opinions would have been much different if Somoza's dictatorship had been leftist.

I cite all of these statements because they constitute the making of a policy that justifies intervention. Are we again seeing Teddy Roosevelt's "big stick" which has been padded and stamped with the word "democracy" to soften the blow? Do they contain the seed of intervention as a doctrine and the creation of a new policy--/imposed democracy/--[in boldface] regardless of the will of the people on whom the "treatment" is being imposed?

After observing this new policy, we are beginning to find signs of it in our country. The AFL-CIO statement on the Labor Plan, which unfortunately was issued in conjunction with Chilean trade union leaders who traveled to the United States specifically for that reason, is an attempt to intervene. That statement does not analyze the plan itself (which would also be improper) but rather it passes judgment on the Chilean regime. This reveals the hand of U.S. politicians who are interested in promoting "political change" from the outside, disregarding the will of the Chilean people.

Will we accomplish anything by showing that Chile is not Somoza's Nicaragua? Trying to make yourself heard by U.S. "intellectuals," who eternally espouse a leftist position, is like crying in the wilderness. They would like to impose general plans in their own style without ever understanding the individual characteristics of Latin American countries.

The position taken by some Chileans--from the point of view of our national interest--is regrettable and very serious because they have been blinded by partisan interests into cooperating and they are trying to take advantage of that policy, fully aware of what intervention in our country can mean.

Everyone must be responsible for their actions at this time. Let us be aware of who is promoting, both from within and outside the country, this concept of a /new free world./ /In boldface/ A "free" world that is based on its disavowal of the principal and most basic right of the people in their own country: the right to freely decide on their future and to exercise the sovereign right of building their own political system and institutions based on freedom and law.

An effort is being made now to replace these basic rights with a new democratic model: /democracy imposed and protected from the outside./ /In boldface/ And most assuredly the "democrats" who espouse this political course of action proclaim it to the public in fiery speeches denouncing U.S. imperialism!

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CSO: 8599

CHILE

CALL FOR GOVERNMENT REFORMS TO HEAD OFF SUBVERSION

Santiago TERCERA DE LA HORA in Spanish 5 Aug 79 p 3

[Article by Pablo Rodriguez Grez: "Ambush Against Chile"]

[Text] Several events have occurred at this time which lead to the conclusion that a political ambush is being planned against Chile's military government.

With impatient persistence, the partisan opposition has been preparing a subversive plan, with encouragement from foreign institutions, designed to overthrow General Augusto Pinochet. This act constitutes the first step in a build-up whose end result will be seen during the second half of the year.

The incidents are much too obvious to ignore and too serious not to accord them the importance that they deserve. Not responding to this situation is a sign of inexcusable political irresponsibility which makes this plot, in which displaced Chileans are taking part on the urging of sordid imperialist interest, all the more dangerous.

An objective analysis of the problem compels us to deal separately with the actions of the partisan opposition and the errors of the present administration which, unquestionably, fuel the subversives' strategy and place the regime's stability in jeopardy.

Subversive Partisan Opposition

Since the present government announced its intention to build a new institutional system in which there would be no room for petty politics and demagoguery, an opposition bloc was formed automatically and as a reflex action by those who monopolized the government until 1973. This is an immutable fact and it should provide the basis for the military government's future action.

In light of its inability to mobilize the country through a coordinated seditious effort, the partisan opposition has turned to alliances with

foreign nations and groups in disregard of the nation's sovereignty and the people's right to self-determination. At the same time, and it is appropriate to acknowledge it, it has managed to surmount--not without great difficulty--one of its worst problems: its internal division. For several months now, the unity of partisan sectors has been a foregone conclusion and signs of it are in evidence at every level. This at least makes its subversive plans cohesive. There is no question that following the ouster of Carlos Altamirano from the exiled Socialist Party's secretary general's post an agreement has been reached with most of those who were involved in the former political system.

I, therefore, maintain that worsening conditions that might result from the Supreme Court's consideration of the extradition request, that the AFL-CIO endorsed planned commercial boycott of Chile, the proposal by some U.S. congressmen that their government exert all kinds of pressure on the Chilean government because of the Orlando Letelier murder trial, and the brazen intervention in our country by imperialist agents for the most childish reasons are a part of a perfectly conceived and concerted effort that has been in the making for 2 years and will reach its peak in the coming months.

We have consistently denounced this strategy. Our warnings, however, have all been for naught. Many naive individuals feel that this is all a figment of someone's imagination. That is why it is so annoying to watch everyone stand idly by while a phalanx of traitors leads us towards a collapse that could bring tragedy and pain to a people who were punished so much in the past by those who today pose as their saviors...

Internal Failings

There have been many mistakes made in the administration of political and economic policy. I repeat that all of them encourage the government's enemies and makes them hopeful about success in the future. Fortunately, none of these shortcomings are without solution unless extremely rigid measures are imposed because over the medium or long term they would result in social upheaval of unforeseeable magnitude. And this would take the meditating politicians by surprise.

Naturally, the construction of the economic model, which has been defined as a socialist market economy, is nothing more than an imitation whose characteristics are substantially from that system. In short, divorced from the principle of "laissez faire" and state control of the economy, the socialist market economy "ties free enterprise to the principles of social progress." Its backers, using the slogan "as little government as possible and as much as necessary," maintain that the role of this model is primarily one of guidance. On the other hand, what distinguishes this type of economy is the distribution of income and wealth (over 72 percent of the national product in Germany goes to the wage earner), the social security system (the most advanced in the world) and the inclusion of workers in joint economic management programs, which according to Fritz

Voight, is the model's key component and a basic factor in building production capacity and insuring stability within a democratic system. In other words, without the workers' participation in company management and in the ownership of capital, there can be no socialist market economy.

All publicity efforts to improve the presentation of Chile's plans run into the problem that, up until now, we have been dealing simply with a market economy which has been overtaken by events and which generated one of the worst social upheavals.

From a political viewpoint, we have reached a level of maturity which requires a transitional insitutional plan. The country cannot continue much longer under the state of emergency policy nor can it halt developments demanded by the existing set of circumstances. The current aggression targeted against us makes quick approval of a permanent constitution an illusion. But it would be even more dangerous to keep our political situation as it is for an indefinite period. Therefore the need for the promulgation of a "transitional constitution" which will allow us to face the dangers that lie in wait and keep us from taking a step back as the advocates of the status quo might be tempted to do...

In short, to face the subversive contingencies of the partisan opposition it is necessary to provide the model with the social component it needs through the establishment of a system that would allow the worker to gradually share in the benefits of production just as it is done in those nations that have chosen this model. It is also necessary to prepare a constitutional bill for the transition period which will provide orderly guidance for the development of an institutional system and bring us closer to a permanent political system.

Otherwise, the market economy--with its host of contradictions and injustices--and the institutionalized status quo will lead the nation into irreparable conflicts which will work to the benefit of those responsible for Chile's recent downfall.

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CHILE

CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF EXTREMIST MOVEMENT TERMED THREAT

Santiago LA TERCERA DE LA HORA in Spanish 7 Aug 79 p 3

[Editorial: "Extremism Is Alive"]

[Text] The raid on a plot of common land in Las Condes enabled the security forces to find what until last weekend was the main headquarters of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left.

Although the searches are still continuing, the first assessment of the incident revealed one extremist dead, having taken his own life with a grenade, two arrested, and a large quantity of Cuban army weapons seized, as well as more than a thousand bullets and a number of hand grenades.

The operation was extremely risky, since the terrorists detonated at least 10 grenades, in a suicidal resistance effort, before being taken captive.

This incident, one of the most serious to have occurred in the last year, is a categorical rebuttal to the view of those sectors, anxious to temporize, which insist that total mastery has now been gained over the extremists in the country and the numerous steps taken by the authorities are unjustified.

This is a clear demonstration that terrorism still has abundant resources available to it and that if it is unsuccessful in disturbing the public calm this is due exclusively to the efficient actions of the forces of law and order through their various organizations.

We do not believe that the country should remain indefinitely in a state of emergency, but neither do we share the position of those who urge immediate normalization from the legal point of view, claiming that terrorism has now been defeated.

It is an illusion to believe that the extremists will accept the plan for order and development Chile is following, because their doctrine persuades them that the only path to the achievement of their nefarious ideals is chaos, including therein violence and death.

They will never understand that the majority of the 11 million citizens of Chile only want to live in peace and order, working tirelessly not only to guarantee the survival of their homes, but also to contribute to the progress of the nation. Such a reality is inconsistent with their disorder.

The authorities have already given evidence that they will continue their struggle against the violent elements tirelessly. In this connection, it must be noted that this is also the responsibility of the entire people and that collaboration with the representatives of law and order is a duty which guarantees the calm and perhaps the survival of the community.

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CSO: 3010

CHILE

SECURITY FORCES CLASH WITH MIR MEMBERS

Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 6 Aug 79 pp A-1, A-12

[Text] Security forces continued until the early morning hours yesterday to comb a broad sector in El Arrayan, the location of the plot where the exchange of fire took place with the extremists, leaving one member of the MIR [Movement of the Revolutionary Left] dead and two others in custody.

The body was mutilated by the effects of the explosions which occurred or because of his suicide by means of two explosive charges. The two arrested were Ana Penailillo Parra, 23, and a heavy-set man. He was seen by our reporters just moments after being seized by the investigators, wearing a hood concocted of blankets to prevent his identification. It was said he is a key figure in the arrest of the other extremists who escaped. It is believed, without subsequent confirmation however, that he is Cesar Fredes, formerly a newsman for a television channel.

The security personnel were personally directed by Gen (Ret) Odlanier Mena, director of the CNI [National Intelligence Center], who remained at the site until well into the early morning hours today.

According to the investigators, on the basis of the nature of the hideout and the individuals found there, this was a functional MIR headquarters.

The two arrested are being interrogated exhaustively. The exchange of fire began at 2045 hours last Saturday in lot 36-A, located on El Cajon Avenue in El Arrayan. The firing lasted about 10 minutes. It began when the occupants of the site offered armed resistance to a search intended by the investigators.

It was learned that the body of the extremist found in the living-dining room of the premises had no arms or right leg. According to some reports this individual died as a result of the approximately 10 bomb explosions which occurred during the exchange. On the other hand, and unofficially, it was reported that the MIR member, after firing at the security troops and seeing that he was surrounded, committed suicide by detonating two charges of dynamite he had with him.

Concerning the identity of this extremist, no information could be obtained from government sources, which said that "this will be known later, since a number of false identity papers were found and are being investigated." One of them is in the name of Jose Manuel Hidalgo. Unofficially it was surmised that this might be his true name.

The security department explained yesterday that only two members of the MIR, a woman and a man approximately 35 years old, were arrested in the premises at plot 36-A, which was partially burned by the fire which broke out after the explosion. The woman was identified as Ana Penailillo Parra, 23. It was reported that she was taken to the Salvador Hospital for treatment of wounds she suffered during the firing. Concerning the man arrested, departmental sources absolutely refused to identify him, since he is regarded as a "key" to the success of the future investigation.

EL MERCURIO newsmen were able to learn about the arsenal of weapons seized at the MIR hideout. Among the weapons were two AKA machine guns produced in Czechoslovakia, and an Uzzi sub-machine gun bearing the inscription "Army of Cuba." In addition, there were hand grenades, a pistol in a James Bond-type case, and a thousand bullets, distributed in plastic sacks of 30 each. The premises also contained a large volume of written material of a subversive nature, and Marxist literature.

Concerning the presence of a white Peugeot automobile at the site, it was said that "this vehicle apparently belonged to the extremists," and that "it was searched." The windows on the left-hand side were entirely destroyed.

Pascal Allende

"It is not true that MIR leader Andres Pascal Allende escaped from the premises at 36-A during the firing. Nothing concrete is known about this. We can only say that, according to what one of those arrested said and other background found here, these people may have had some connection with Pascal. That is all." This statement was made to EL MERCURIO by a source affiliated with the security services.

Some neighbors had said that about two hours before the exchange of shots, a young person left the site in a late-model vehicle, and his description, they said, was like that of Pascal. A security officer dismissed this hypothesis, stating that "it would not be logical for Pascal to be in Chile without even taking the precaution of wearing at least a false beard."

Site of the Firing

The building where the exchange of shots occurred is a concrete and wood house with three rooms--kitchen, bath and living-dining room. It is in a ravine near a small stream. A short stairway leads to the living-dining room, which was entirely burned out. This was the location of the MIR member who was found dead. When the security troops burst into the premises, the extremist fired at them.

When EL MERCURIO newsmen visited the premises yesterday, there was chaos everywhere. Burned scraps and large quantities of canned goods lay about. Two ladies' boots and a radio lay in one of the rooms.

The premises at 36-A were rented by the MIR from the owner, whose name was not given, last November. It was said that the rental was arranged by Ana Penailillo Parra, the woman who is now under arrest. The MIR members paid 15,000 pesos a month for the premises. It was learned that Ana Penailillo, on arranging for the rental of the property with the owner, told him that "she had just arrived from Europe and that her husband had asked her to rent a house outside Santiago."

Members of the security forces told EL MERCURIO that as the firing began, only Ana Penailillo Parra and the extremist who was later killed in the incident were inside the premises. The MIR member arrested "arrived at the site moments later. He was then seized. His name is being withheld for the time being so as not to hinder future investigations."

They added that "one of the security agents escaped death by a miracle when a bullet hit his revolver."

MIR Document

A presumed MIR document seized at the premises along with various other papers indicates that on Thursday, 21 June, Juan Carlos Gomez Iturra was killed in a clash with security forces. The note adds that he joined the MIR while he was a student at the University of Concepcion.

It says that after 11 September 1973, Gomez Iturra was arrested and on being released, he joined the MIR. The document identifies Gomez Iturra as the son of journalist Jose Gomez Lopez.

Two Vehicles Sought

Part of the investigation in connection with the clash at plot 36-A in El Arrayan involves the search for two vehicles, a taxi and a Torino passenger car, presumably used by individuals connected with the MIR hideout. Despite questions from journalists on this subject, nothing could be learned.

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CSO: 3010

CHILE

EXTREMIST BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN TRAINED IN CUBA

Santiago LA TERCERA DE LA HORA in Spanish 7 Aug 79 p 5

[Text] Seventy-two hours after the spectacular search in which a headquarters or refuge of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) was discovered, investigations to establish the links this subversive operations center may have had with actions of a terrorist sort which have occurred in the country have been intensified. Despite the secrecy in the circles close to the security department, it has been learned that the woman arrested during the operation, Ana Penailillo Parra, visited Cuba, where she is believed to have participated actively in the guerrilla schools operating on that Caribbean island. On the other hand, sources indicated that the other person arrested, Cesar Oscar Fredes R., a journalist, was the MIR courier.

This incident, as is known, occurred after 2000 hours last Saturday, when security department personnel "following a lead" visited the exclusive El Arrayan neighborhood in the foothills section for the purpose of making "a search."

The Search

According to reports, shots were fired against the troops surrounding the site from inside the premises at lot 36-A, initiating a clash in which one extremist died and two were arrested.

The extremist who died tragically when he exploded a grenade was identified as Jose Hidalgo. "This was the name on his identity documents and passport, but because the extremists often carry false identity papers, scientific studies are being made to determine the identity of the dead man," a spokesman said. According to the documents found in his clothing, the dead extremist was 36 years old.

Affiliations

Specialized personnel were working on an exhaustive analysis yesterday of the documents rescued from the house in El Arrayan, since, as is publicly known, following the explosion of the grenades stored within it, a fire broke out, reducing a part of the building to ashes.

It was reported that substantial documentation was found which will make it possible gradually to unravel the extremist network functioning in Chile, and the contacts existing with the international subversive movement. "These documents make mention of the name of Andres Pascal Allende," one source said. "The affiliations both domestic and foreign are being studied," another source said about the investigation.

Within the house at lot 36-A various equipment was found, apparently ready for immediate use since it was in perfectly maintained condition, suggesting prior instruction in the cleaning, assembly and disassembly of firearms, etc.

Among the weapons seized were two AKA brand rifles (Soviet produced), a weapon inscribed with the phrase "Army of Cuba," a sub-machine gun, approximately 1200 bullets in perfect condition, rifle cartridges, and sidearms (revolvers and pistols), among other things. Two grenades were about to go off when they were found by police forces.

Those Arrested

The woman arrested by the security agents, Ana Penailillo Parra, 28, is being questioned about her affiliation with the MIR cell. News has leaked out that the woman has spent an unspecified period in Cuba.

Cesar Oscar Fredes R., a newsman, on the other hand, has been described as the "courier" of the MIR. He had returned from abroad a short time ago. His arrest occurred when he arrived at the house being searched just as the operation was in progress. Cesar Fredes worked at TV channel 9, at the former daily newspaper LA NACION, and Foto-Sport, and is a native of Vallenar.

Vehicle Found

Yesterday morning a Renault IKA, Torino model, was found. It is presumed to have been used when another member of the outlawed MIR fled from the organizational hideout in the El Arrayan sector which was discovered.

The automobile, carrying license plate GR-862, from Providencia, was found by Valentin Geldres Betancourt, who saw the silver-colored Torino which was being sought parked on the street when he went to open his vulcanizing workshop at 19 Paula Jaraquemada.

Later, uniformed police found in the car a form bearing the name of Valdemir Freire Lopez, residing at 1502 Agustinas, Office 305. It is believed that this document was falsified by those who stole the vehicle for later use in extremist activities.

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CHILE

EXTREMIST PASCAL ALLENDE REPORTED BACK IN CHILE

Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 9 Aug 79 pp C-1, C-2

[Text] The former secretary general of the outlawed Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) is reported to have returned to Chile to win supporters and establish a new armed operational group within the movement. He is being intensively sought by the security forces following a skirmish which occurred at a property in El Arrayan.

The information obtained by EL MERCURIO from reliable sources indicates that Pascal Allende, a nephew of the late former president of the republic, Salvador Allende, was involved in serious disagreements with the MIR in October of 1975, when he was accused of being a "traitor and abandoning other comrades in struggle," following a clash which occurred at the Santa Eugenia property in Malloco. He is said to have decided to return to the country secretly to seek primacy and recognition within the extremist movement again.

To this end, our sources said, Pascal Allende made contact with veteran members of the organization Ana Luisa Penailillo Parra (arrested by the police in the El Arrayan clash) and Jose Manuel Hidalgo, who died in the incident and who acted as Pascal's personal security chief.

Lot 36-A in El Arrayan, which served as a hideout for Penailillo and Hidalgo, was also used by Andres Pascal to hold meetings with some members of the movement for the purpose of bringing about a reconciliation. The information gathered by the security agents even suggests that Pascal also held talks with the present chief of the MIR, Hernan Aguilo, who, operating in total clandestinity, is directing the actions of the group.

Political Cell

The two extremists arrested in El Arrayan, one of whom is journalist Cesar Fredes, who served as the MIR courier for the past four months, were members, along with Pascal's bodyguard, of a political cell, which is not known to have engaged in armed propaganda activity. Our source said that the important thing now for the former highest leader of the MIR is to rally supporters, since, it was learned, after being condemned by the movement

because of his seeking asylum in the Costa Rican embassy at the end of 1975 in the company of his close friend Mary Ane Beausire, he lost strength and credibility. It was believed that, as a leader, he failed to support his "comrades," in particular Dagoberto Perez Vargas, regarded as the second most important man in the hierarchy, who was killed in the clash at the Santa Eugenia property on 16 October 1975, when five other terrorists were arrested. At that time, in addition to Pascal and Mary Ane Beausire, Nelson Gutierrez and his friend Maria Elena Bachmann Munoz also succeeded in escaping. A short time afterward they sought asylum in the Apostolic Nunciature. Pascal and Mary Ane Beausire were able to get out of the country in January of 1976, while Gutierrez and his comrade left for Sweden on 21 February 1976.

Travel

Although he stayed outside Chile for more than two years, traveling to Europe, Cuba and other Latin American countries, our informant said, Pascal Allende continued to maintain contact with some members of the MIR. In fact, journalist Cesar Fredes even served as a courier for this exchange of information and planned for his return to the country, having carried out this task on an official basis since the end of last March. Fredes made the first contact with the MIR after having been a member of the DC [Christian Democrats], the Christian Left and the MAPU [Unitary Popular Action Movement] in the early months of 1975. Only last year did the journalist officially join a cell of this organization, and recently was entrusted with important missions, such as the trips to France to meet with Chilean extremists located there, including Pascal Allende, Peru and other Latin American nations.

Fredes was not arrested on the day of the incident at the El Arrayan property, but several hours earlier, after being followed.

Meeting

Last Saturday afternoon, five hours before the exchange of shots at lot 36-A in El Arrayan, it was reported, an important meeting attended by Andres Pascal Allende and other MIR leaders, among others, took place. The purpose was to examine how Pascal could fully rejoin the movement and assume leadership again. It even emerged that the former leader was at the premises until after 1500 hours on that day, in other words less than five hours before the incident occurred.

At the time of the exchange, only Ana Luisa Penailillo, who was living with Jose Manuel Hidalgo, serving as Pascal's personal security chief, was in the house. With regard to the Torino car, license plate JR-862 from Providencia, located by the police in the La Reina sector, it was learned that it was used by Hidalgo and sometimes by Pascal Allende to move about within the city. It was thanks to this that the fingerprint analyses made by police agents in fact revealed a left thumb print which, on being checked with the fingerprint records of Pascal Allende, proved to be his.

Flight

Security department sources believe that the nephew of former president Allende may have left the country again on learning of the results of the search at El Arrayan. It is known that Pascal has shaved off the moustache which he used to wear, no longer wears spectacles but contact lenses, and is now heavier than before. No proof has been established of his return, but it is believed that this took place approximately two months ago, when he crossed the frontier using false documentation provided from Chile by MIR members. His first contact in Chile was with Ana Luisa Penailillo and his security chief Jose Manuel Hidalgo, whom he visited from time to time at the El Arrayan hideout and who provided him with connections so that he could hold political meetings with the present leaders of the MIR.

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CSO: 3010

CHILE

PASCAL ALLENDE REPORTED FLEEING FOLLOWING POLICE RAID

Santiago LA TERCERA DE LA HORA in Spanish 8 Aug 79 p 5

[Text] Responsible sources confirmed the exclusive report carried by LA TERCERA DE LA HORA in last Sunday's edition to the effect that Andres Pascal Allende, highest leader of the outlawed Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) was present at lot 36-A in the El Arrayan quarter where a police operation was undertaken.

Pascal Allende, a nephew of Salvador Allende, had entered the country approximately a month earlier in disguise. He no longer has his former moustache, is heavier now and has dark brown hair. He wears it combed forward and is wearing contact lenses.

At the time he fled from El Arrayan, at 2040 hours last Saturday, he was wearing a dark suit.

Fingerprints

After the respective tests made by identification experts, it was established that the fingerprints found on the Torino passenger car which left lot 36-A at high speed were those of Andres Pascal Allende, this newspaper learned from reliable sources.

On the other hand, LA TERCERA DE LA HORA has discovered that journalist Cesar Oscar Fredes Reyes and Ana Luisa Penailillo, who were arrested during the search, were members of the personal group supporting Andres Pascal Allende in his clandestine activities of a subversive nature. Fredes is described as the MIR "courier."

Other members of this group included Jose Manuel Hidalgo, who lost his life in the explosion of a grenade within the premises maintained by the highest leader of the outlawed MIR. The extremist cell had as its mission making contacts for him, since he no longer has friends following him in his misdeeds.

Subject Armed

Andres Pascal Allende, the son of Laura Allende, fled armed "to the teeth."

The police and security services have taken every possible precaution in the case to ensure his apprehension.

The possibility that in view of the fact that a net is being extended for his capture, he will seek asylum in some accredited embassy in Santiago or ask convent authorities for aid has not been discarded, our informants said.

Andres Pascal Allende left the country three years ago, after a search carried out in Malloco, after seeking asylum in the Costa Rican embassy in Santiago.

The Passenger Vehicle

Specialized personnel made a detailed examination of an automobile similar to that in which Andres Pascal Allende is presumed to have fled from the house in El Arrayan where the clash between extremists and security personnel took place.

The vehicle, a Torino model IKA Renault, silver grey, with Providencia license plate JR-862, was found at 0830 hours on Monday in front of the vulcanizing workshop owned by Valentin Jeldres Betancourt, at number 19 Paulo Jaraquemada Street in the La Reina commune.

According to the police, Jeldres, after noticing the strange automobile at the door of his establishment, immediately reported it to the police, thinking it unusual that it should be standing there unlocked and without an ignition key. In addition, he could not recall that it belonged to any of his customers.

Uniformed police who came to the site found a document bearing the name Valdemier Freire Lopez, residing at Agustinas 1502, Office 305, in the car. The document was presumed to be altered, for the information pertained to a Ford Torino.

A thumb and left index finger print were found on the left side mirror of the vehicle in which the extremist leader is thought to have fled from the El Arrayan premises where a clash between subversive elements and security personnel occurred Saturday night.

Legal Documents

Moreover, the criminal secretariat of the Court of Appeals received petitions for writs of release in favor of the two persons arrested in the clash which occurred at El Arrayan last Saturday at nightfall.

The two documents pertained to Ana Luisa Penailillo and Cesar Oscar Fredes Reyes, charged with being the MIR "courier." Sources at the court explained that both appeals are in the report stage, in other words the appeals court has asked for documents and background from the Ministry of the Interior to obtain information on the arrest of the two petitioners.



1975 Photograph of Pascal Allende



Present appearance of Pascal Allende: Age--38; hair--dark brown; beard--none; eyes--brown; height--1.85 meters; skin--pinkish-white; lips--rosy; build--small chest cage, long and muscular legs, long arms, sagging right shoulder.

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CSO: 3010

CHILE

MIR DOCUMENTS SEIZED IN POLICE RAID

Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 10 Aug 79 pp 1, 16

[Text] MIR [Movement of the Revolutionary Left] documents setting forth plans for the placing of bombs, thefts to acquire weapons and money and the execution of "traitors" and "torturers" were found at lot 36-A in El Arrayan, where an extremist was killed and two others arrested.

The documents admit to "shortcomings on the organic level" of the MIR and contain instructions for carrying out extremist actions. One of them said that application had been made for a writ of release in favor of one of the members of the MIR who had disappeared, but whom they later located at the home of members of his family.

In all of the documents, the MIR leaders are identified by their operational aliases: "Petro," "Jose," "Nestor," "Arturo," and "Roberto."

A Plan of Action

In an extensive eight-page letter to the members of the secretariat of the MIR, a plan of action for the second half of the present year is set forth.

It speaks of "preparing conditions so that beginning in July, two or three major armed propaganda actions can be carried out monthly and an offensive involving some 10 bombs a month can be pursued in Santiago, and an equal number in the provinces. This has already been discussed by the limited secretariat and we believe that the actions should include the following:

"a) Distribution of food; b) radio broadcasting of a proclamation; c) seizure of microphones by workers; d) execution of torturers and traitors; e) placement of new artifacts; f) weapons supply activities; g) explosive materials supply activities; h) lightning meetings and vast sweeps with armed protection; i) placement of bombs in large businesses where there are clashes; and k) placement of recording machines in universities, factories, settlements, etc."

It says farther on that "activities for the supply of explosive materials and seizures of money will be basic in order to guarantee the proper functioning of the party and to guarantee the armed propaganda attacks."

"Without money and explosive materials, the party cannot (word illegible) proper tactical undertakings. For the planning of these actions, it is very important that the members of the secretariat send information for carrying out both actions to obtain money and supplies of explosive materials."

According to the document, propaganda activities will be "linked with the masses or fronts in conflict" in order to "proceed to evaluate the effect on these fronts."

Political Agitation

Along with these violent actions, the letter to the secretariat general indicates that "the bases devoted to legal and semi-legal work should not engage in political party agitation, but should only set forth the democratic goals and claims of the masses."

In order to do so, it says, "they must appear as the most democratic elements in the front."

In another portion, the MIR instructions state that "an effort should be made to establish two bases for political work with the workers, one for clandestine work and another for legal and semi-legal work." The same system is ordered for work with settlement residents.

Organization and Security

The contents also include instructions on organization based on an internal division of labor into "propaganda tasks," with an official in charge of logistics, "one for functions and one for operations."

Security is another of the concerns. "Each member of the secretariat," the document reads, "must draft a plan with each structure for which he is responsible (reviewing the situation base by base in the leadership of the structure) and submit it to Roberto in the first two weeks of July."

The document adds that "it is important to warn that despite the most recent repressive blows, there has been a relaxation in this regard (security) and in many bodies, the compartmentalization and social lag situation have worsened instead of improving."

Mass Struggle

The paragraphs devoted to this subject state that "the first shortcoming still remaining at many base levels and in many structures is that the appeals made for the bases to join in the struggle and the resistance are

too general and scattered. It is necessary to select two or three of the desires most deeply felt by the masses and urge the struggle, but at the same time providing a means of struggle the masses can pursue."

The document adds that "it is necessary for us to make the first experiment in directing street demonstrations, walk-outs, sit-down strikes, seizures, etc."

In the Provinces

It is explained that "in a past session, the secretariat deemed the situation of the MIR in the provinces unsatisfactory."

"We must report," the document states, "that the limited secretariat has continued to discuss this situation and has decided to assign new militants to work in the provinces, plus the members of the leadership and the militants assigned for the short term (two or three months). We believe that at least one member of the secretariat should go to live in the provinces."

"With regard to Comrade Mollery, the team he leads and the militants' base assigned to one zone of the country, we must report to the members of the secretariat that the comrades criticized them for the limited initiative shown in going to the province. A discussion was held with them and the month of June was set for the transfer of the leadership team and July for the establishment of the militants' base which will specialize in armed propaganda tasks."

Other additional measures were announced. The "leaders returning from abroad" should go to the provinces and the same will be done with "every militant signing on renewing his agreement."

"Comrade Jorge"

The document criticizes "Comrade Jorge," whose "assistants and subordinate team" were seized by the security services.

There is a bitter complaint to the effect that "Comrade Jorge," although forbidden to maintain relations with his family members, "not only did so but also told them about his subordinates."

The comrade being criticized "not only failed to report these family relations, but in addition lied about their security situation."

It is recalled that in connection with "an earlier repressive campaign" (December-January) a meeting was held with "Pedro" and "Roberto," who examined the possibility of leaving the country temporarily since the MIR could not protect them.

"The comrade argued that he had resolved his security problem with elements he had trained (whom we now learn were members of his family)."

The secretariat expresses regret that in the arrest of members of Jorge's base cell, weapons, money and MIR materials were lost. It adds that "he let a month go by without giving a sign of life, although there were premises and telephones by means of which he could do so," adding that "we thought he had been arrested, and a writ of habeas corpus had even been filed. The secretariat was about to issue a statement on his behalf."

The document voices the complaint that "because of communications problems" it was not possible to appoint the six members of the CI [Internal Committee] and an interim committee headed by "Pedro" and including "Jose" and "Gregorio" is proposed.

The document mentions that in the last session, it was agreed to establish four "units for the processing of intelligence." It says that "two of the units have operated regularly and it has been possible to process a large amount of information on major business owners, government officials and officers in the armed forces. One unit has not been established (the tactical anti-repression unit) and the fourth (information for other armed propaganda actions) has functioned irregularly because of security problems."

Background Material

An earlier document dated 3 May, also found at the house on the lot in El Arrayan, admits that the MIR has been dealt a number of blows by the security bodies. The document is signed by "Roberto," and says that "these repressive blows force us to focus our efforts between May and June on overcoming the shortcomings on the organic level."

Reference is made to the attack on the house of the editor of EL MERCURIO. The document orders the "execution in the next two weeks of some six bomb-placing activities at very clear targets (of the Fontaine or DINAS premises type) with political consequences." At the same time a campaign of denunciation of the repression is urged.

The text of the document read as follows:

"Let Pedro gather the background on the recent repressive coups (number of members arrested, arbitrary actions, torture, etc.) for presentation to the religious authorities, Human Rights Commission and international bodies (UN, ILO, etc.). Let Pedro take care of assigning members and the commission and directing the denunciation."

A third MIR document seized at the same site is a letter to the members of the Interior Committee giving instructions for making an evaluation of the "work with the masses, at the bases and armed propaganda."

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CSO: 3010

CHILE

POLICE DISCOVER ARSENAL IN ARICA

Santiago LA TERCERA DE LA HORA in Spanish 8 Aug 79 p 5

[Article by Juan Carlos Poli]

[Text] Arica--Various types of armaments, including sophisticated automatic weapons, ammunition of different calibers and gunpowder were discovered yesterday afternoon in a surprise search made in a downtown home in this city by police and security agents.

According to the background information obtained by our daily newspaper, since no official announcement of the facts has been made, the police action was carried out in a house on Patricio Lynch street, near Chacabuco, where in an old home rented by an individual who has not yet been identified, this arsenal of weapons and explosives was found.

It is similarly presumed that the owner of the weapons was immediately arrested and turned over to the military courts, along with the revolvers, pistols and explosives.

The name of the person arrested has not been released.

It has been learned that police agents are currently carrying out a series of investigations with a view to determining the source of the weapons and the use for which the individual intended them. Similarly, the background of the man arrested is being studied, in order to obtain accurate information as to whether he maintains relations with or belongs to any political group.

S157

CSO: 3010

CHILE

BRIEFS

LABOR LAW CHANGES--President Augusto Pinochet has confirmed EL CRONISTA's report that the basic structure of the Labor Plan legislation will be maintained and that only technical changes will be made. In an informal talk with newsmen covering the government sector, the chief of state was informed that it was not clear whether the Labor Plan law was to be revised. The chief executive answered as follows: "It is one thing to revise and another to study and to see those 'fine points,' as some say, which can solve the problem, but the overall plan will be maintained." "Then there will be some technical changes, Mr President?" "Yes, technical changes, as they are needed," his excellency emphasized. With respect to a possible anticipated future change, General Pinochet stated that that problem would be dealt with later. [Excerpt] [Santiago EL CRONISTA in Spanish 3 Aug 79 p 2] 8735

CSO: 3010

COLOMBIA

BRIEFS

GUERRILLAS CAPTURED—Three peasants were killed by guerrillas of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia [FARC]. However, in a subsequent encounter with the army five guerrillas were injured and captured. The National Defense Ministry reported that some 20 guerrillas belonging to the 7th Front of the self-styled Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia killed the farmers Jesus Zapata, Gilberto Gomez Zapata and Luis (?Herrera) in cold blood in Quinato jurisdiction, Santander Department. The guerrillas left a pamphlet in which they stated that the farmers had been executed because they had served as army informers. In an intensive pursuit, the troops of the 5th Brigade had an armed encounter with the guerrillas on the Morelia Estate. As a result five of the guerrillas were captured. Because they put up a resistance, they were seriously injured. [Text] [Bogota Cadena Radial Super in Spanish 0000 GMT 18 Sep 79 PA]

M-19 LEADER IN SANTANDER—Bogota—Carlos Toledo Plata, the top M-19 leader, doctor and former congressman of the Socialist National Popular Alliance, is hiding somewhere in Santander Department, the military intelligence service reported today. The army B-2 revealed that Toledo Plata has not left the country as reported by the press a few days ago. On the contrary, he was nearly captured in raids carried out by troops in various sectors of Santander. [Text] [Bogota Cadena Radial Super in Spanish 1100 GMT 17 Sep 79 PA]

CSO: 3010

COSTA RICA

BRIEFS

TRADE DEFICIT—Figures updated to 31 August 1979 reveal that Costa Rica has a deficit in trade with the other Central American countries. Costa Rica exported products valued at \$20.736 million and imported \$21.04 million, resulting in a trade deficit of \$304,000. The country's cumulative exports as of that date totaled \$105 million, while imports totalled \$127.967 million resulting in a deficit of \$22.5 million. Only in trade with Honduras did Costa Rica have a surplus of [?] million. In its trade with Guatemala, El Salvador and Nicaragua, Costa Rica has an approximate trade deficit of \$10 million. [San Jose Radio RELOJ in Spanish 0100 GMT 15 Sep 79 PA]

CSO: 3010

CUBA

BRIEFS

VILMA ESPIN MOSCOW PRESS CONFERENCE--Vilma Espin, member of the Council of State and president of the Federation of Cuban Women, has valued very highly the conference on childhood problems which was held in Moscow, USSR, from 7 to 10 September. The Cuban leader, who arrived in the Soviet capital early this week, participated in a press conference at the conclusion of the conference on the occasion of the International Year of the Child. Vilma referred to the nonaligned countries sixth summit conference held in Havana. [Text] [Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1406 GMT 13 Sep 79 FL]

CSO: 3010

RELATIONS WITH BLOC COUNTRIES ANALYZED

Panama City Televisora Nacional in Spanish 2315 GMT 17 Sep 79 PA

[Text] Panama's trade balance with the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance [CEMA] countries showed a deficit trade balance from 1972 to 1979 of more than 9 million balboas, reports to Televisora Nacional say.

During these 5 years, the sources say, Panama exported products to the CEMA countries for 329,000 balboas and imported 9,460,000 balboas. This trade has been with Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union.

In order to improve the trade balance substantially by means of increased Panamanian exports to these countries, which have opened their markets to our products, the state is organizing activities which include joint participation by the public and private sector. Representatives of the two sectors held an important meeting today to coordinate efforts.

A 5-day meeting ended today that discussed trade and economic relations between countries with different economic and social systems, the socialist countries.

The meeting, with the participation of the government and private sector, on international commercial and economic aspects was opened by the commerce and industry ministry's foreign trade industry director, Humberto Villalobos who said:

[Begin recording] For the coming period Panama intends to open three new [word indistinct] abroad, in Central America, the Caribbean and in the East. Our country has begun commercial, cultural and technological agreements with Eastern European countries and has already signed agreements with Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria.

In the near future Panama intends to sign agreements with the Soviet Union, Poland and East Germany. Therefore we believe it would be wise to make a joint effort by the planning, foreign trade and commerce and industry

ministries. In order to develop these agreements with the East European countries, we must hold a seminar for the purpose of analyzing commercial and economic relations with countries having different social and economic systems.

Panama is also creating a joint commission while it works with the Central American countries, in order to create a mechanism to provide followthrough and development to the agreements we have signed with these countries and which we will sign in the future.

As you know, these joint commissions are made up of the government and private sector.

Today we are offering this seminar, whose basic goals, among others, is the diffusion of knowledge of politics and opportunities, offered by socialist countries in East Europe to developing countries, which will contribute to the creation of a precise panorama for the identification and exploitation of these possibilities favoring commercial, economic and technical scientific knowledge in Panama. [End recording]

CSO: 3010

'REPUBLICA' SAYS POLITICIANS BEHIND TEACHERS MOVEMENT

Panama City LA REPUBLICA in Spanish 16 Sep 79 pp 1-A, 6-A PA

[Text] Leader of political groups opposed to the government made a big effort on the weekend to try to change the direction of the teachers movement in pursuit of political objectives such as the election of a constituent assembly and changes in the Corregimiento electoral system.

For instance, we learned that Manuel Solis Palma, a former education minister, met yesterday with the teachers to suggest they include in their demands the election of a constituent assembly, which would return us to an obsolete electoral scheme.

Solis Palma, who returned from Venezuela a few months ago where he was living in past years, has joined the groups who make up the so-called National Opposition Front (FRENO).

We have also learned that Thelma King, through the independent women's movement, has tried to get the Panamanian Party to support the teachers strike.

In last Wednesday's civic march carried out by the teachers, we saw the faces of some leaders whom the revolutionary process ousted from power.

One main reason why these groups are trying to take advantage of the teachers strike is that their main leader, Dr Arnulfo Arias, will not be in physical condition to participate in the 1984 elections. Therefore, these displaced leaders cannot wait to have a democratic election to reach power.

In the meantime, a local radio station which started a public collection to help the teachers was turned into an opposition political tribune from where strong words were issued against top government officials, an open call to sedition.

CSO: 3010

PANAMA

BRIEFS

COPPER MINING PROJECT PARTICIPATION--Panama City, 15 Sep (EFE)--The Panamanian Government will considerably reduce its participation in the enterprise which will exploit the rich copper deposits of Cerro Colorado in Western Panama. Panama had originally planned to hold 80 percent of the shares but studies by the World Bank and the government recommended that this percentage be decreased in view of the high risks of the project, the unstable future price of copper and the country's limited debt capacity. Cerro Colorado will need a total investment of more than \$1.6 billion. Rodrigo Gonzalez, president of Cerro Colorado Mining Development Corporation [Corporacion de Desarrollo Minero de Cerro Colorado--CODEMIN], told EFE that no decision has been made yet on how much the state will reduce its participation but that it should not be lower than 51 percent in order to maintain control of the enterprise. The U.S. Texas-Gulf firm, which holds 20 percent of the shares, cannot obtain the shares released by Panama so the two parties are looking for new partners. [Text] [Madrid EFE in Spanish 1440 GMT 15 Sep 79 PA]

CSO: 3010

HUMAN RIGHTS: NO OUTSIDE INTERVENTION

Montevideo LA MANANA in Spanish 19 Aug 79 p 14

[Editorial: "Uruguay as Vanguard of Human Rights"]

[Text] The fact that Uruguay, right after the subversive aggression originating abroad, should have wanted to take appropriate defensive measures that include restriction on some rights does not mean that Uruguay is against universally recognized human rights.

Even more so if any country has held in the present period an avant garde, progressive and original, and in some cases innovative position in the field of human rights, that country is Uruguay.

In the immortal framework of the principles of the American Revolution and the French Revolution, the head of the Uruguayans, Jose Artigas, provided in Article 3 of the Directives of 1813 the famous edict: "Civil and religious freedom in all its imaginable extension."

It suffices to analyze summarily what these words mean and to place them in the historic context of 1813 so that the root as well as the orientation of the thinking of Artigas may become clear, a philosophy undoubtedly nurtured in Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the entire liberal current of the 18th century as evidenced even in expressions and turns of phrase regarding other privileges in the sayings of Jose Artigas.

Civil liberty and religious liberty in all their ramifications imaginable is the admirable synthesis which Artigas realized in all the legal declarations that he made. Instead of details and enumerations, he embraced them all, he understood them all up to the very limits of the imagination.

On the basis of the institutional beginning, the partisan struggles between "blancos" and "colorados" always had a goal—that of eliminating abuse, of doing away with arbitrary behavior, upholding the rule of law and consecrating liberty.

Thus, among the Uruguayans "the declaration of rights, duties, and guaranties" was forged, reflected in our Constitution, the result of careful wording, of the effort of our best citizens at very open constituent assemblies, of the unanimous recognition of a basic tradition which no Uruguayan --if he is truly one--can ignore.

It did not prove difficult to this country to subscribe to the declarations of rights emanating from any of the past or present international forums, from the Hague Conference to the League of Nations and the United Nations. We contributed--more than anyone else--to drafting the OAS Charter in 1948. We expounded in the face of the communist hysteria--the doctrine of parallelism between peace and democracy that becomes constantly more obvious as history and facts are known without distortions. We were--and are proud of it--a "welfare state" in the midst of the barbarism of the dictatorships and hemispheric underdevelopment, and if that experiment proved to be expensive we ourselves alone paid for it and acquired experience to continue being humanists but without becoming involved in waste or demagoguery.

One should then understand very well that when we objected to intervention in our domestic affairs by governments, institutions, organizations, or mere international and foreign symbols, this does not mean that we have renounced defending human rights but rather that simply we wish to maintain our sovereignty intact and consequently our freedom and our dignity as a people.

Communism, guilty of the worst attacks against human rights across the world, wants to dictate standards to Uruguay in a field of which it has no knowledge. At all levels and in all the cases that have arisen, it has received an appropriate response.

But Nazi-fascism also strives to fish in troubled waters and, being the enemy of anything that resembles human rights, liberties and respect of the individual, it believes that the temporary suspension of any rights means identification with its outcast doctrine. And it begins to act with its known attitudes of phony pride, threats and so on, trying to identify the struggle against communist subversion with its brashness.

In this field it is necessary to clearly define our positions.

It is one thing to militate in the so-called right, to be conservative, to be a member of the new right, to be traditionalist and so on. But it is another thing to be a Nazi-fascist and totalitarian.

It is necessary to clarify ideas, avoid confusions and especially not to allow that the Siamese twins of Nazi-communism seize the opportunity on one side or the other--it's all the same to me--to set up retrograde and inhuman regimes.

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CSO: 3010

IMPORTANCE OF SPAIN'S ENTRY INTO NATO DISCUSSED

Montevideo EL PAIS in Spanish 22 Aug 79 p 6

[Article by Arturo P. Cerviso: "Importance of Spain's Entry Into NATO"]

[Text] The political opening initiated by Spain beginning with Franco's death led to lengthy critical analysis and an exhaustive reexamination of plans pursued so far in the realm of international relations.

Asserted for more than 40 years in a neutralist attitude of doubtful benefit, Spain formulated its foreign policy as a function of bilateral relations--very often lopsided--completely alien to the rules of the game prevailing since World War II because of a predominantly bipolar system. As mentioned, the foreign policy of Francoism was never able to assert a presence, turning in preference toward residual and marginal forms both in planning and in action.

Rejected for decades by the Western European concert of nations on the basis of considerations that were not always impartial but of an exclusively political order, Spain now has to face the nearly imminent possibility of its entry into the two major regional organizations which control Western European integration: The European Economic Community and NATO.

In the former a vigorous policy of rapprochement seeking economic integration--vital for Spain--with the other countries of the area has already been initiated.

As for the latter, it is pertinent to note that Spain's geographic situation has conferred on it throughout history a strategically predominant role that is maximized now within the existing international political situation. As in the case of Portugal, Spain finds itself from a geographic and military viewpoint included in the Iberian Atlantic world of NATO, also known as IBERLANT [Iberian Atlantic Command], and whose essential assignment is the control of entry into and exit from the Mediterranean.

Furthermore the Canary Islands, a Spanish Atlantic outpost, dominate the enclave of routes from Africa and the Persian Gulf from where Western markets are supplied and which constitute a vital alternative in case of a closing of Suez or a blocking of Panama.

One infers from these facts the geostrategic importance of the region to the point that SACLANT [Supreme Allied Atlantic Command] has divided the North Atlantic into various quadrants one of which is precisely IBERLANT. The latter is located between the Strait of Gibraltar—"Europe's southern aorta"—the Azores, the Canary Islands archipelago, and the North African coast, controlling the entire traffic to Europe. The Iberian Atlantic Command is charged with controlling, too, the supply of energy to Europe and the movement of Soviet vessels to their bases of Cienfuegos (Cuba), Conakry (Guinea), and the island of Mauritius in the Indian Ocean.

That the Atlantic Pact has overlooked such an important flank, so closely linked together by common interests in the Mediterranean zone, is evident from an article already published some time ago in LA REVUE MARITIME [Maritime Review] whose point continues to be entirely valid. Indeed, in that article attention was drawn to the fact that if a Soviet threat" seems to be effectively checked by the nuclear deterrent shield, the Atlantic fortress continues to be in danger of death because of a void. From the Bosphorus to the Azores, the defensive wall of the West is being cracked. The Israeli bone continues to show through the exposed crack of the Near East: Turkey and Greece, members of NATO, ripped apart by the Cyprus problem, are prepared to move to a violent confrontation, relinquishing at the same time any serious control of the maritime passage between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean which is of fundamental strategic importance.

Now then, returning to the initial topic, what role would Spain play in case it joined NATO? There is no doubt that its functions would be specifically naval.

In this respect various experts agreed in noting that the discussion of Spain's entry into the Atlantic Alliance must be examined fundamentally from the naval viewpoint and with attention to the notable increase in size of the Soviet fleet in comparison with the Western forces.

Spain's entry into the Atlantic Pact or the continuation of its apparent policy of neutrality will be a matter for the Spanish people and government to determine independently. However, the present Spanish minister of foreign affairs, Marcelino Oreja Aguirre, expressed with assurance the thought that at the present time neutrality has either a historical justification as in the case of Switzerland or originates from specific geostrategic situations which make of it an alternative of survival. "Disarmed neutrality in the Spanish geostrategic situation is not a utopia. Under existing circumstances defensive self-sufficiency is something which only great powers can afford. Those who without being great powers have opted for armed neutrality pay for it a price that would be hard to conceive for our country and with a result that is more apparent than real."

On its part the international committee of the government party made itself clear by noting that Spain's noninvolvement in international conflicts has been the subject of virtuous exaltation when "in terms of foreign policy this has been only one of the consequences of sterile isolation."

Analyzing in perspective the present integrationist trend of Spain's foreign policy, it is unquestionable that the necessary conditions are extant to consider Spain's entry into NATO as an accomplished fact.

However, the problem which now concerns the majority of the political sectors is that of envisioning which are the advantages that its participation would yield to Spain in a policy of power blocs from which that country had been removed for more than 4 decades. Many see such integration to be untimely, recommending that Spain "improve relations with the United States which is an imperative stemming from the policy of a still determinant power in international life."

For this reason they believe it indispensable that Spain strengthen and extend its agreements with the United States, as in the case of the recent Friendship and Cooperation Treaty signed in 1976 and which has its most immediate antecedent in the so-called Madrid Declaration of 1974, maintaining a mandatory relationship of polarization and dependency with respect to the United States.

Obviously, Spain's inclusion in NATO will not signify either much less than a consolidation of the Atlantic defense system because it lacks sufficient military power that its participation in a regional defensive system will give Spain the opportunity to express itself and to assert its interests in favor of a strong and invigorated foreign policy.

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CSO: 3010

MOSCOW SEEN AS FUNDING SUBVERSIVE EXTREMISTS

Montevideo EL PAIS in Spanish 22 Aug 79 p 6

[Editorial: "Moscow's Coffers"]

[Text] In the memoirs of a Tupamaro reproduced by EL PAIS from a Mexican daily, the author refers to the easy life without economic hitches led by Uruguayan extremists who had taken refuge in Chile.

Indeed, the former Tupamaro mentions a large purse—which he calls "Allende's coffers"—always full of Chilean bills which used to serve to meet the needs of the guerrilla fighters who had become refugees in the trans-Andean country, sheltered and personally sponsored by former President Salvador Allende.

Everything was very simple, a real Shangri La. As the content of the purse was being spent someone made it his business to replenish it and no one asked for a rendering of account from anyone nor expected to be reimbursed.

Allende's generous hand was always present to satisfy all the wishes of whoever had his hands stained by innumerable crimes.

The system naturally broke down when the patriotic reaction of the trans-Andean armed forces and people halted the relinquishing of Chile to Marxism and fearful economic anarchy.

But the system also functioned in other countries of the world and continues to operate in the five continents.

It is therefore not Salvador Allende who was filling the coffers but Moscow, directly or through its agents.

Uruguay has experience in the matter.

With a tiny communist party--whose voters never reached more than 10 percent of the national electorate and generally much less--the Moscow connection always

undertook the most costly propaganda campaigns in favor of its line. It did not scrimp resources either on wages or on cash or on newspapers or on trips. It even acquired a plane and various motor boats to facilitate the movements of its personnel and equipment.

It would often make so-called popular levies in order to raise funds and out of these it would secure assistance that used to be sufficient to cover its needs of all types.

Obviously, no one used to believe that such a limited number of members and additionally limited economic means could support such elaborate propaganda machinery. However, masters in putting up fronts, the Marxist-Leninists provided that popular support in which a series of business firms, advertising agencies and import-export firms were involved in order to conceal the real nature of stateless individuals at the service of the USSR.

Because what is sure, what is unquestionable, is that behind all things stand the coffers of Moscow. That is where the orders originated, the assignments and the funds. It is from there that movements were orchestrated and the strings pulled which made the puppets dance undermining our country's economy and morale as a function of the goals which the Kremlin sought.

We have liberated ourselves from that meddling, at least to a large extent.

But other countries are continuing to suffer from it.

Or else look at the telling denunciation made by a French writer and collected in a book of frightening force about the hundreds of firms, banks, agencies, and 1,000 Protean faces—including even wages—which keep in funds the greedy Communist Party and which are nothing else than Muscovite puppets moved directly by the Soviets.

Everything indicates that the same would have to be said of the other Western countries because there is no reason whatever for the procedure to change while contrariwise there is much evidence about its existence.

Thus, the firm conviction in the duality of attitudes of the Soviet Union and in its enormous historical responsibility in the face of the dangers that hover over the world in our time is repeated. On the one hand it proclaims peaceful coexistence and seeks detente among nations and even favors the limitation of strategic arms. On the other hand it is the greatest world power in terms of conventional arms and seeks to provoke internal tensions in those states which are not inclined toward it ideologically while it funds terrorists and guerrilla fighters there.

It is obvious that a global confrontation—which would make use of nuclear arms—will put an end to all modern states, including the Soviet Union, for which reason the USSR tries to avoid it.

But it is also obvious that the other alternative leads to expansion or hegemony at low cost and is extremely profitable.

It is slower but surer and, especially, it does not imply vital commitments for the USSR as a nation.

It only costs money, much money. It is others who shed their blood. Hence, these coffers are always full.

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CSO: 3010

NEW EMBASSIES IN AFRICA TO BE CONSIDERED

Montevideo LA MANANA in Spanish 19 Aug 79 p 14

[Article: "Foreign Ministry Completes Opening of New Embassies in Africa"]

[Text] The possibility of opening diplomatic representations in Africa has just been evaluated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and it is thought that a decision will soon have to be made in this respect.

According to what spokesmen of the foreign ministry suggested last night to LA MANANA, it is Uruguay's intention to proceed with the opening of diplomatic missions in areas where our country has been virtually absent.

It is for that reason that at the uppermost echelon of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the possibility of accrediting diplomatic representatives in specific countries of Africa is presently under study.

Our country's presence in important African markets is part of the restructuring plan of the foreign service considered by our foreign ministry.

In this connection it is appropriate to note that months ago Uruguay reopened its representation in Nigeria, accrediting Ambassador Salaverry.

It will now be determined which are the countries in which Uruguay's presence is deemed to be necessary so that it may accede, as the saying goes, to important markets.

Thai Ambassador Arrives Today

The new diplomatic representative of Thailand to Uruguay will arrive this morning.

Ambassador Sirajaya Buddhi will be received at Carrasco international airport by the director of protocol of our Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Councilor Jose Lissidini.

On his part, tomorrow at 1130 hours, the ambassador will present his credentials to the Uruguayan president, Dr Aparicio Mendez, during a ceremony to be held at Government House.

Slated to attend the function are Minister of Foreign Affairs Adolfo Folle Martinez and the secretary in the president's office, Dr Luis Vargas Gardia.

Folle at the United Nations

The head of Uruguay's foreign ministry will go to New York next month to attend the annual meeting of the United Nations General Assembly.

On that occasion, as was the case last year, the Minister of Foreign Affairs will deliver a speech in which he will set Uruguay's position on various issues of worldwide interest.

Lupinacci Returns

The return of the undersecretary of state for foreign affairs is anticipated this week.

Dr Julio Cesar Lupinacci is now in the United States taking part in the Law of the Sea Conference.

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LAW REQUIRING MILITARY TRAINING IS NULLIFIED

Montevideo LA MANANA in Spanish 17 Aug 79 p 8

[Article: "Compulsory Military Service Abolished"]

[Text] In agreement with the minister of national defense and with the concurrence of all the ministers, the Uruguayan president issued the appropriate message and government bill. The latter proposes the nullification of Article 29 of the Law on Compulsory Military Training No 9,943 of 20 June 1940 and of paragraph (b) of Article 2 of decree-law No 10,388 of 13 February 1943.

Practical Reasons

The message indicates that the army's general command deems it appropriate, for practical reasons, to effect said nullification. At the same time it notes that the fulfillment of legal requirements has been reduced in practice to its minimum expression: Registration.

The article which will no longer be legally applicable provides that "no citizen will be allowed to hold a position in the public administration without having fulfilled the obligations established by this law." Similarly, the Statute of the Official approved by decree-law No 10,388 of 13 February 1943, in its Article 2, paragraph (b), established as a condition of entry into the public administration "the fulfillment of the obligations of the Law of Military Training."

It should be pointed out that in the meantime the obligation of swearing allegiance to the national flag will be continued.

Col Dr Federico Silva-Ledesma, consulted the previous day by newsmen of LA MANANA, said that the government bill in question proposes to regularize a state of fact given that Article 29 had never been enforced.

The custom of not meeting this requirement (to undergo military training in order to hold office in the public administration) led to its being considered appropriate to eliminate the provision in effect so far. Indeed, even though in our country the only formal source of law is legislation, the custom--with the passage of time--had nullified what was prescribed in this respect.

Once the Council of State approves the bill and the executive gives it the force of law, nonobservance of this article will not be the basis of any type of sanction because it will have been nullified.

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CSO: 3010

CALDERON BERTI DISCUSSES PETROVEN, OPEC ISSUES

Caracas BOHEMIA in Spanish 27 Aug-2 Sep 79 pp 20-24

[Interview with Minister of Energy and Mines Humberto Calderon Berti, by Mariadela Linares: "The Oil Industry Will Not Be Politicized"; conducted at ministry, date not given]

[Excerpts] The last time we spoke with Humberto Calderon Berti was 2 years ago when we interviewed him concerning his fears of a world energy crisis that would threaten mankind in the coming decade. At that time, Carlos Andres Perez y Calderon was in power. Berti opposed the government's policy from his post as president of the board of directors of the Venezuelan Oil Technology Institute (INTEVEP). Now he is part of the government and as minister of energy and mines, is responsible for the way in which the Venezuelan Government handles its principal industry and the manner in which we project our international image on the world economic spectrum.

At the luncheon, set for one o'clock on a Friday afternoon in the minister's office, we enjoyed the pleasant company of his wife Egna, his most loyal and devoted aide, and Dr Ramirez de Cadavieco.

We would have preferred to meet elsewhere, but the minister is of the belief that going out to lunch means losing the best working hours in the afternoon. He is right and we did not argue with him. To confirm our belief in his conviction, he told us that since he took office on 12 March, he has eaten lunch out on only six occasions. The rest of the time he has taken his lunch in his office. At least it cannot be said that the minister of energy and mines wastes his time.

[Question] Mr Minister, our interview will be published during the week of the elections for the new PETROVEN board of directors. There are already rumors that at least the president, Gen Rafael Alfonso Ravard, will be retained, but there are also fears that the composition of the board may point to a politicization of the largest Venezuelan enterprise. What can you tell us about this?

[Answer] Look, when President Herrera said during his campaign that he was going to keep the oil industry outside of politics, he meant what he said.

We are convinced that the oil industry must be handled professionally and in a technically sound manner, without having partisan politics prevail with respect to decisions made within the industry. This in no way means that all industry officials have to be political eunuchs, but within the industry itself, those with militant political views cannot use them. The board of directors is not changed for political reasons, but rather, for statutory reasons, because its term is up at the end of this month.

[Question] Will Gen Alfonso Ravard be retained?

[Answer] That is a decision of the president that I cannot yet announce.

[Question] We understand that that will be the case. Is the shortening of the term of PETROVEN's board of directors from 4 to 2 years not a way of getting rid of Gen Alfonso Ravard before his time is up?

[Answer] No, no. We are going to do several things in the way of statutory reforms in PETROVEN because we believe that after 4 years of nationalization, we have sufficient experience in handling the industry.

[Question] How will the effectiveness of PETROVEN officials be guaranteed?

[Answer] That is very simple. You give them a line of policy expressed in a budget-program and at the end of the year, you examine what the officials have done.

[Question] Will sanctions be applied?

[Answer] To date, no sanctions have been applied, but the changes that ordinarily occur and that are going to occur on the board come about because some programs are not running satisfactorily or because they could run better. Among other things, there are persons who obviously will leave because of their age. Others want to leave simply because they do not want to continue in office. There are countless reasons, but I believe that we have to make it a matter of policy that those persons who leave PETROVEN and the operating enterprises will simply be those who have been unable to carry out programs under their responsibility in a satisfactory manner.

We told Minister Calderon Berti that there are insistent rumors to the effect that there is opposition to reconfirmation of the vice president of PETROVEN because he is a militant member of the AD [Democratic Action]. He answered as follows:

"I believe that no one is being questioned because of his political militancy. There have been comments to the effect that some matters under the responsibility of Dr Arreaza could be speeded up, but nothing has been said with respect to his politics. I believe that Dr Arreaza is a reliable, responsible and honest man who deserves the respect and consideration of all of us."

A few days ago, Minister Calderon Berti gave a press conference at which he reported that the government's earnings during the first half of this year from the oil industry amount to 20 billion bolivars. He told us that during the second half of the year, these earnings are expected to increase because of new increases in the price of crude oil.

"Naturally," he added, "a record was established during the first six months with respect to the country's participation for every barrel produced, which was 46.62 bolivars."

[Question] Is it true that the industry's operating costs are also going to increase?

[Answer] Look, when I went to the meeting of PETROVEN shareholders, I said that the oil industry is solid, in good hands, that it is being managed in a very reliable, efficient, responsible and professional manner. However, while we do point out the positive aspects, we must also mention certain things that concern us. One of them is costs. This year, the cost of oil per barrel was \$1.80. If we compare this with last year's cost, which was \$1.82, it might appear that we have had a drop and that we are more efficient than we were last year. However, when we look at this in the light of the industry's total costs, we see that the latter are going up. Why then is the unit cost smaller? Because today we spend more but produce more oil. However, with the same sincerity that I have said this, I want the country to be aware that if production goes down this coming year, as is our goal, and this increases unit costs, we should not be criticized for the increase.

We told the minister that the industry is being questioned over the announcement of a future acquisition of a plane and he told us that the plane would be purchased by PETROVEN, not his office, and that it would be used by the ministry, PETROVEN and all the industry's operating enterprises. He added that if the oil industry generates around 30 billion bolivars a year and when PETROVEN is among the 25 largest companies in the world, there can be no question about the purchase of an airplane that will provide mobility and that is not a wasteful expenditure for a luxury, but rather, a need.

[Question] Mr Minister, the Congress has expressed its desire to participate in the discussion of technology contracts. Do you agree on this?

[Answer] No. The technology contracts and the marketing contracts are contracts of daily management -- that is, operating contracts. Every time we want to make a contract, we cannot take it to Congress for discussion because if we do so, we are going to deprive the oil industry of a great capacity for mobilization. This cannot happen. In the new technology and marketing contracts, we are going to put in proposals made by all sectors of national life. We are sensitive to all proposals.

The minister added, with respect to the marketing contracts, that there is a policy to seek a diversification of customers within the traditional

markets. He said that the fact that 42 percent of all exports this year went to nontraditional customers tends to diminish dependency on transnationals but that the traditional customers are still guaranteed their supply.

Some sectors in the country have pointed to the need to revitalize the National Energy Council. When we asked the minister his opinion on the matter, he told us that he not only agrees, but that he considers such a revitalization indispensable in order to obtain a consensus on oil policy.

We moved on to explorations and Dr Calderon Berti said that his office is oriented toward the search for deposits of medium- and lightweight oil, which presently have the greatest market. He said that the discoveries made on the continental shelf and in the Cretaceous layer of the Lake Maracaibo basin are very encouraging.

[Question] How many barrels of oil are now being produced?

[Answer] An average of 2.35 million.

[Question] Are you not planning a reduction?

[Answer] That does not include 70,000 [barrels] of liquified natural gas that are also being exported. A reduction is planned. I have said that this coming year, production should be maintained at some 2.2 million barrels.

[Question] How much does domestic consumption amount to?

[Answer] That is truly disturbing. This year, domestic consumption went up 16 percent. We went from 258,000 to a daily average of 290,000 barrels. I would say that the most serious problem that the oil industry now has to face is the increased demand of domestic consumption.

[Question] What is going to be done to check that demand?

[Answer] First of all, I believe that we have to make the people aware. That is the reason for the campaign being waged by the operating enterprises and the minister of energy and mines aimed at seeing that the people make more effective use of the transportation systems they have. Naturally, we have to offer the people alternatives. That is why we named a commission to be in charge of working out an automobile policy and of providing concrete recommendations, in line with the specifications set forth by the Andean Pact.

However, the minister is also aware that efficient mass transport must also be developed and he said in this connection that he has engaged in talks with the minister of transport and communications in order to express his concern over the problem of the consumption of fuel on the domestic market.

[Question] And yet, Venezuelans continue to buy cars in the belief that quality means size and luxury.

[Answer] Yes, but in order to change things, you have to offer alternatives.

[Question] Who will have to do that?

[Answer] The government.

[Question] What has it done?

[Answer] Well, you have the idea of going without a car for one day a week and we believe that if everyone accepts this idea voluntarily, we shall save a million liters of gas a day in Caracas.

[Question] Have results been good so far?

[Answer] Traffic has improved substantially. We shall wait a while longer before evaluating the effect on gasoline consumption.

[Question] You mention small cars in order to save on gas but it so happens that those automobiles cannot be found on the market because the small cars use high-octane gasoline.

[Answer] We are awaiting the studies of the commission in order to make concrete proposals to the economic officials.

[Question] In European countries, the people are already using vehicles with additional tanks that are filled with natural gas. Are there plans for these vehicles in Venezuela?

[Answer] Yes, we are planning to use them but we have to see how we are going to do it. The oil companies in the eastern region of the country now use vehicles powered by natural gas.

[Question] What are the risks involved in using that type of fuel?

[Answer] Natural gas is a little more efficient, cleaner and presents no risks. The problem is that there is not yet any infrastructure.

[Question] How are the changes in refining methods going?

[Answer] You know that two things are involved: First of all, the circumstances indicate that Venezuela is going to produce larger and larger quantities of heavy oils. We have to prepare the refineries to accept this type of oil. Second, the current refining method gives us a high yield of residual fuel and a very small quantity of intermediate distillates and gasoline. We are preparing the refineries to accept larger volumes of heavy crude oil whose processing will produce a smaller quantity of residual fuel and a higher proportion of distillates and gasoline.

[Question] How much do these changes in refining methods cost the country?

[Answer] About 8 billion bolivars.

[Question] Will we ~~not~~ have to import gasoline?

[Answer] No. With the changes in refining methods, this will no longer be necessary.

When we interviewed Dr Calderon Bertí in 1977, he told us about his concern because in his opinion, the world would experience its worst energy crisis beginning in the coming decade. Inasmuch as that decade begins precisely next year, we asked him whether his predictions continued to be as pessimistic as they were 2 years ago. He told us:

"We have great energy resources. We have the hydrocarbons. We have hydro-electric potential that has not been developed. We have a certain geothermic potential that has not been developed either. Now then, this does not mean that we should act irresponsibly with the energy resources we have, as we have done up to the present time. We have no right to squander the resources as we are doing right now.

"I told you 2 years ago that there would be an energy crisis. That crisis has not yet occurred. My thinking is that the crisis is coming and that the increases in the price of oil have attenuated the magnitude of the crisis. Why? Because the world is already thinking along conservative lines. The prices have also made people think about the need to develop alternative sources of energy."

[Question] What will happen when the American situation becomes more acute and its production no longer satisfies the minimum domestic demand?

[Answer] The United States has not had sufficient courage to establish an energy policy aimed at checking the growth in demand, any more than we have. There are American cities that are practically nothing but huge gas stations. The congressmen there act more in terms of local political interests than in terms of the interests of the entire American nation. It seems paradoxical but this is the case: I have always said that the energy programs of President Carter have always had greater support in Venezuela than in the United States itself.

Calderon Bertí graduated in 1964 with a degree in geology and obtained his masters in petroleum engineering at the University of Tulsa in the United States 4 years later. Since 1965, he has occupied various posts in the different agencies in the country that deal with oil. A member of several commissions in CONICIT [National Council for Scientific and Technological Research] and the IVIC [Venezuelan Institute of Scientific Investigations], he was the founding president of the Foundation for Research in Hydrocarbons and Petrochemistry. The many works he has written on subjects relating to

oil bear witness to his expertise, which is the basis for his confidence and optimism in speaking.

[Question] Mr Minister, if, despite all the educational campaigns now being waged, the Venezuelan people do not realize the real value of energy and continue to waste it, will it be necessary to "hit us in the pocketbook" with an increase in the price of gas, for example?

[Answer] No, I believe that the problem of gasoline has been put very badly on the domestic market.

[Question] But you told us in our interview 2 years ago -- we have a copy of it here -- that we could not continue to sell gasoline cheaply. Do you no longer believe that?

[Answer] Look, I have thought a great deal about this problem of the consumption of energy on the domestic market. I believe that we have not viewed the problem properly because we have viewed it from only one angle. We thought that by increasing the price we would solve the problem, but that is not so. That is secondary to the basic problem, which is the growth in demand. If we had been concerned 3 or 4 years ago about developing good mass transportation instead of saying that gasoline was very cheap, things would have been different.

We told the minister that there are sectors which believe that an increase in costs would check demand and he answered that in Spain, for example, it has been shown that every time the cost of gasoline goes up, the consumption of meat goes down. In other words, people prefer to stop eating meat in order to have a full tank of gas.

[Question] You do not believe, then, that it is more urgent to change driving habits than to change refining methods?

[Answer] That is where we are right now. We are beginning to make decisions in order to achieve that.

[Question] Why not stop the production of high-octane gasoline in order to force people to use medium- and low-octane types?

[Answer] That 95-octane gas is going to be reduced to 92 octane.

[Question] That is not a significant reduction.

[Answer] Yes, it is quite significant.

[Question] The problem is that everyone will continue to buy it because it is very cheap. You were saying something else in 1977.

[Answer] It is not that I am afraid of a price increase, but rather, that I believe we are not going to solve the problem simply by increasing prices.

It must be a combined thing. Basically, I believe that we have to move toward the manufacture of vehicles under 1,500 cc.

[Question] Are you not proposing the use of coal in the future once again?

[Answer] I believe that it is healthy for the country to have different energy alternatives. I do not believe that just because we have oil and natural gas we have to consume oil and natural gas. We must develop greater hydroelectric potential and I also agree on the use of coal to generate electricity at thermoelectric plants.

[Question] It is important that you touched upon the issue of hydroelectric power because usually, when one talks of energy, the people relate it exclusively to oil and it so happens that Venezuela is also facing serious problems supplying electricity. Would plans to bring energy from Guri mean the disappearance of the monopolies now selling electricity in Caracas?

[Answer] I do not believe so. I believe that some of those companies are already using power from Guri.

Moving beyond our borders, Dr Calderon Berti said that Venezuela must develop programs for energy cooperation within the hemispheric sphere because there are countries that have energy resources but that lack the necessary technology and financial resources to develop that energy.

[Question] What will happen to OPEC?

[Answer] I believe that OPEC is going through one of its most interesting phases in recent years. Obviously, these are difficult times involving great risks, but at the same time, the risks mean much bolder, much more courageous, much better defined positions on the part of the organization. I believe that the most serious problem now facing OPEC is how to define a long-range policy with the developing countries. The mutual solidarity that exists between the organization and these countries is very important.

[Question] What proposal will Venezuela take to the December OPEC meeting to be held in Caracas?

[Answer] Precisely the need to develop a strategy with developing countries, with developed countries, with the transnationals, basically, the developing countries.

[Question] Is it true that at that meeting Venezuela hopes to gain the presidency of the organization?

[Answer] We shall see.

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